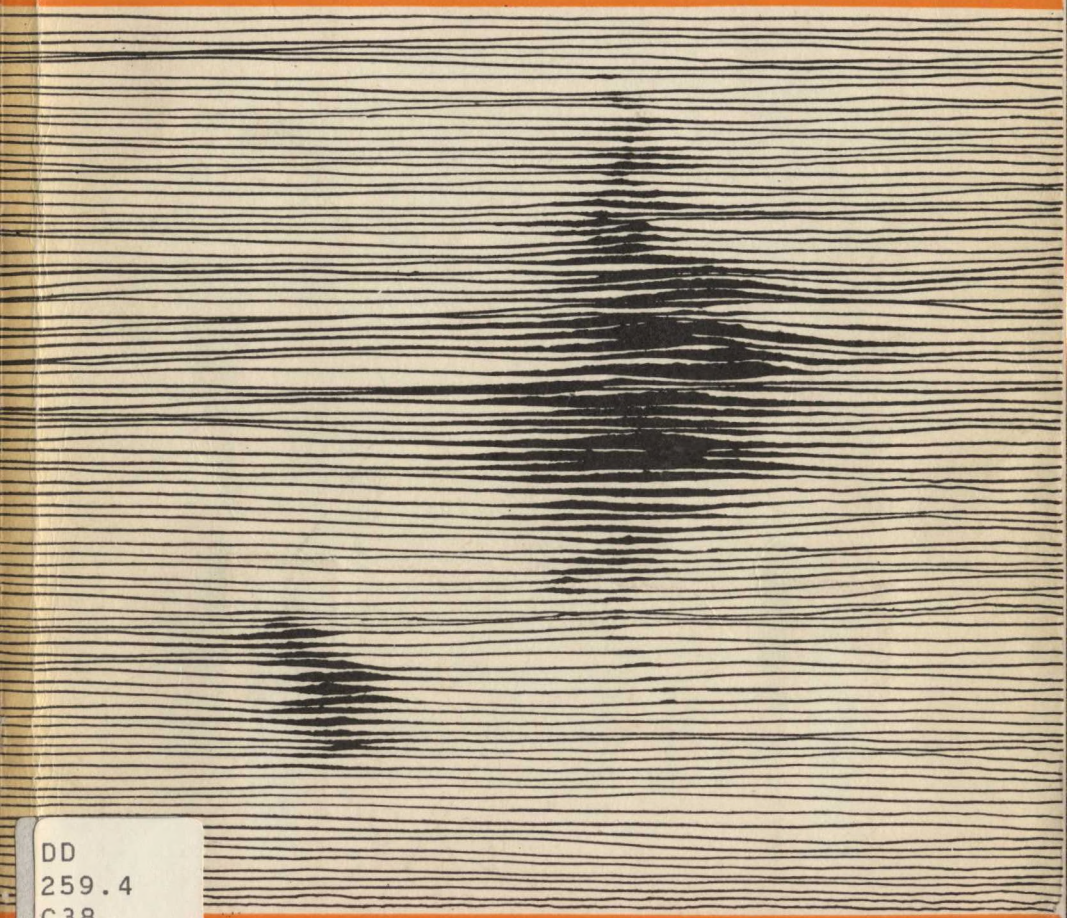
Centres of Conflict



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The attitude of the two German states to international problems

CENTRES OF CONFLICT

The attitude
of the two German states
to international problems

VERLAG ZEIT IM BILD DRESDEN

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Introduction

We are living in a complicated, stormy and interesting period, in the epoch of the worldwide struggle between Socialism and imperialism. The forces of peace, democracy and national independence have constantly grown in the last decades. Socialism has become a mighty world system.

At present capitalism is in a profound general crisis. This is shown by the economic convulsions in various capitalist countries, the depressions and structural crises, the sharpened competitive struggles and their consequences, the currency crises and the increasing severity of the class struggles in many capitalist countries, especially in the USA. These factors and the change in the international relations of forces in favour of Socialism have

made imperialism become, not stronger, but more aggressive. It seeks to solve the difficulties and contradictions in the capitalist system in its own manner—by applying economic, political and military pressure on other countries, by the organization of military putsches and coups d'état, primarily in the developing countries, by the intensification of psychological warfare against the Socialist countries, by local wars through the use of pawns, such as the USA is doing with Israel, up to open, brutal aggression, whose malignant expression is the barbarous US war against the Vietnamese people. All these methods with which imperialism seeks to turn back the clock of history have become known under the term "global strategy". It is through the doctrine of world gendarme that America intends to force other peoples to its will. In this its main ally is West German imperialism which constantly has its hand directly or indirectly in the game in the most crucial points of conflict.

It has been shown, however, that limits have been set to the enforcement of the US global strategy, to the Washington—Bonn axis plot against world peace. The forces of Socialism, democracy and peace are compelling imperialism to retreat and change its tactics—in Vietnam, in the Middle East and in Europe.

In this worldwide struggle between Socialism and imperialism the two German states—the German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic—take the directly opposite positions. Their completely different stand on the most important international conflicts has its roots in their social systems: The German Democratic Republic is the Socialist state and the West German Federal Republic the imperialist state on German soil. Whereas the GDR has for 20 years conducted a consistent policy of peace in close friendship with the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries, the West German Federal Republic proves to be, in alliance with US imperialism, the main disturber of the peace in Europe and the accomplice of the aggressive American global strategy in the oppression and exploitation of other peoples.

The intention of this pamphlet is to lay before the peace-loving democratic forces, particularly in Europe, Asia and Africa, the diametrically opposite attitude of the two German states to international centres of conflict.

I. European Security and the Two German States

European Security—Still Not Ensured

The problem of European security has not just existed since today. It was placed on the agenda already more than half a century ago with the beginning of the First World War. It arose before the peoples again two decades later in all its vital importance, when German fascism plunged Europe into war and subjugated one state after the other. The victims of this bloodiest of all wars must not be forgotten: 20 million dead in the Soviet Union alone; six million Poles, that means every fifth citizen of pre-war Poland, died at the front and in the gas chambers of the nazi death camps; every tenth Yugoslav met his death in this war. The fascist Reich which unleashed the war lost more than 13 million people; the war cost the lives of 635,000 Frenchmen, 628,000 Greeks, 275,000 Czechs and Slovaks; even little Luxemburg mourned 5,000 war victims. Almost half of all victims of the Second World War—some 25 million people—came from the peaceful civilian population.

After the defeat of the Hitler Reich it might seem that the world would now open up a new chapter in history, a chapter which would not be written in blood. In the Potsdam Agreement the main powers of the anti-Hitler coalition announced a comprehensive, future-guiding program for the consolidation of peace. For the first time in history Europe was given a real opportunity to solve the problem of its own security. It was acknowledged by all that the main condition for security in Europe is not to permit the rebirth of German militarism and nazism. To guarantee that Germany will never again threaten its neighbours and peace in Europe and the world. There were also no differences of opinion in Potsdam on the fact that the fulfilment of this main condition requires the honest co-operation of all states of Europe on a basis of equality.

But developments after 1945 did not meet the expectations of the peoples. They were disappointed in their hopes for a life free from the fear of war. The facts show that the consequences of the war in Europe have not been eliminated up to this very day. There is still no German peace settlement, now as before there are centres of conflict, and relations between European states are not normal.

It is in the essential interest of the European peoples that the anomalous situation on their continent be overcome and stable foundations for peace and security established. Life imperatively demands that effective measures be introduced which exclude the danger of an armed conflict in Europe and strengthen European

security. This requires the cooperation of every European country, however big or small it may be. The problem of the security of Europe can be solved only by the joint efforts of all European countries, all social forces which are sincerely working for peace. This task can be all the more successfully fulfilled the quicker the influence of the forces which are driving for a further sharpening of tensions between European states is paralysed.

West German Imperialism, the Main Disturber of the Peace in Europe

If one examines the policy of the West German Government in the last 20 years one must come to the conclusion that in two decades it has not made one single positive contribution to peace and security in Europe. On the contrary, it has kept this continent in a state of constant unrest and insecurity, it has not abolished tensions but has preserved existing tensions and produced new ones. Driven by extreme anti-communism it has heated up the cold war and systematically erected barriers to cooperation on a basis of equality between European states and on a basis of peaceful coexistence.

Have the Bonn Governments reconciled themselves to the realities which have come into being in Europe as a consequence of the war? Have they recognized the territorial status quo, especially the Oder-Neisse frontier and the frontiers between West Germany and the GDR? Have they established normal relations on a basis of equality with the German Democratic Republic and accepted an agreement of the renunciation of force repeatedly proposed by the GDR? Have they renounced their plans to obtain joint control over nuclear weapons? Have they put forward any initiative of their own for the establishment of atomic-weapon-free zones in Europe and for disarmament? Have they up to this day declared their acknowledgment of the invalidity of the Munich Agreement from the very time of its imposition and their respect for the status of West Berlin as an independent political unit?

Each of these questions can only be answered with an unequivocal No.

Sole Representation Pretension— the Heart of the Policy of Revenge

The main danger to peace and security in Europe is the Bonn revanchist policy and its centrepiece, the West German Government's sole representation pretension. Ever since Adenauer the first point in the program of all Bonn Governments has been: The German Reich did not come to an end in 1945, it continues to exist within the frontiers of 1937 and the Federal Government is the sole representative of all Germans.

In his Government declaration of 21 October 1949 the then Federal Chancellor Dr. Konrad Adenauer proclaimed:

"The Federal Republic of Germany is alone authorized to speak for the German people. Until the establishment of German unity as a whole it is the only legitimate state organization of the German people." (*Deutscher Bundestag*, 1st electoral period, 1949, stenographic report)

Adenauer's successor, Professor Ludwig Erhard, declared on 16 June 1966:

"The assertion that after the collapse of the German Reich in 1945 two German states had been formed is completely false, both politically and in international law... The German state did not come to an end in 1945." (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 22 June, 1966, p. 646)

Dr. Kurt Georg Kiesinger, former member of the leading propaganda staff in the nazi Foreign Ministry and currentiy Federal Chancellor, reaffirmed on 10 December 1966 that the Government in Bonn "is alone authorized to speak for all the German people". (*Dokumentation der Zeit*, Berlin, No. 373)

The Government of the "grand coalition" between the party of West German monopoly capital and Social Democracy has, in comparison to its predecessors, intensified the Bonn sole representation pretension. In contrast to the Adenauer and Erhard Governments it no longer speaks of a sole representation right but of a sole representation obligation. That is not just a difference in diction, it is a deliberate expression of the intensified aggressiveness of West German imperialism towards the German Democratic Republic and other Socialist countries.

Bonn Foreign Minister Willy Brandt said at the meeting of the NATO Council in Reykjavik on 24 June, 1968:

"The right to designate itself as a sovereign state within the terms of international law cannot be acknowledged for the GDR."

With the sole representation pretension the German Democratic

Republic is to be deprived of the protection due to a sovereign state in accordance with the principles of international law. The denial of the legal existence of the GDR means for the West German imperialists the "right" to intervene in the affairs of the GDR. The non-recognition of the GDR is to enable the West German imperialists at any given time to portray even a military intervention, so to say, as an "internal German police action" which would not be an international conflict, indeed, it would not even have the character of force being used by one state against another. This is not subtle "communist propaganda", it is borne out by frank, completely unambiguous statements of leading West German politicans. Here are a few of them:

Federal Chancellor Kiesinger on 18 November, 1967 at the "Germany Day" of the "Young Union" in West Berlin:

"We must delimit and finally abolish this centre of disease (meaning the GDR–editor)."

Ernst Majonica, foreign policy expert of the CDU, in *Politisch-Soziale Korrespondenz*, 15 February, 1967:

"We are obliged to intervence in Germany. We must link the isolation (of the GDR–editor) with the greatest influence of which we are capable."

CDU Bundestag deputy and former Federal Minister Dr. Gradl on 3 April, 1967, on West German television:

"Recognition of the GDR is impossible because then everything that we seek to do would be looked on as intervention in internal affairs, which is no longer permitted between two states. The frontiers (of the GDR–editor)... will then become a legal institution."

Dr. Friedrich Zimmermann, chairman of the Bundestag Committee on "Defence", on 17 May, 1967, on Bavarian television:

"Once the zone (meaning the GDR–editor) is recognized, influence by the Federal Republic on internal conditions in the zone is no longer possible. Such a policy would then be confronted with the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign state."

Thus, the Bonn revenge politicians themselves unmask the hypocrisy of their statement that the GDR cannot be recognized by them as a sovereign state because that would signify the "perpetuation of the division of Germany". At the same time the truth shows the extreme danger of the West German Government's sole representation pretension for the security of Europe: Bonn desires to continue to keep the road open for intervention in the affairs of the Socialist German state, to undermine it by means

of ideological subversion and finally to annex it by force on "X Day" through the policy of refusing to recognize the GDR in international law. This is also the reason why the West German Government categorically refuses right up to this day to conclude an agreement on the renunciation of the use of force with the Government of the GDR.

Herr von Guttenberg, Parliamentary State Secretary in the Federal Chancellory and confidant of Kiesinger and Strauss, wrote in the *Welt am Sonntag* of 21 August, 1966:

"It is dangerous to include the territory of the SBZ (the GDR–editor) in a declaration renouncing the use of force. The whole world would assess that as a significant step to the inviolability of these frontiers."

And Gerhard Jahn, Social Democratic Parliamentary State Secretary in the Foreign Office, clearly formulated the aggressive program of Bonn policy in the *Pressemitteilungen und Informationen* of his party on 21 June, 1967:

"Does not the exclusion of the use of force mean the acceptance of the status quo in Germany, an acceptance of the given conditions? That is just what we do not want!"

Is this not a potential declaration of war against the GDR? Is this not a permanent threat to the security of Europe? For one thing is clear: Even the attempt by West German militarism to encroach upon the frontiers of the German Democratic Republic, a member state of the Warsaw defence alliance, would mean war in Europe, indeed, in all probability a world war!

When the GDR and its Socialist allies consistently insist that the Bonn sole representation pretension must be abandoned they do not do so because the German Democratic Republic could not exist and develop without recognition. The GDR has proved its vitality over two decades, it has existed longer than the Weimar Republic (1919–1933) and it is politically and economically the most stable German state in this century, the Socialist state of the German future.

No, the GDR really does not need the blessings of Kiesinger, Strauss, Brandt and their like. But it is a question of the Bonn sole representation pretension being identical with the program of West German militarism and neo-nazism for gaining hegemony over Europe, of it forming the main obstacle to the development of a system of collective security in Europe. Therefore, it is of fundamental interest to all European peoples that this kernel of West German revanchist policy be eliminated and replaced by a policy of the recognition of realities in Europe.

"Bonn's sole representation pretension is not simply a matter of dispute between the two German states", declared Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. "The struggle against the sole representation pretension is not only the affair of the states of the Warsaw Treaty, but of all peoples who are not prepared to subject themselves to the hegemony of West German imperialism and who reject neo-nazism . . . In this struggle we and the French, Italian, Belgian and Scandinavian peoples have the same basic interests, even if different social systems exist in our countries." (*Neues Deutschland*, 16 February, 1967)

Bonn Grasps at Foreign Territories

In a lecture to the Austrian Foreign Policy Association on 10 June, 1968, Bonn Foreign Minister, Willy Brandt, made the demagogic assertion that the West German Government had "no territorial claims". Obviously Herr Brandt meant that at present Bonn is raising no territorial claims beyond the frontiers of 1937. In any case he formulated it so that the credulous or the uninformed would come to the conclusion that the West German Government is disposed to accept the existing European frontiers.

But in doing so the Bonn Foreign Minister contradicted himself. For at the beginning of October 1967 the same Willy Brandt declared in a speech on the occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the birth of the one-time German Foreign Minister Walter Rathenau:

"It is intolerable that West Germany has had to exist for more than twenty years without its eastern provinces, which were once its granary."

And six months earlier, on 28 April, 1967, Herr Brandt announced in an interview with *Mann in der Zeit*:

"In future negotiations about the German eastern frontiers it will not be a question of renunciation . . ."

The present Bonn Minister of Finance Franz Josef Strauss in his book *Entwurf für Europa* (The Grand Design) called the "maintenance of the German legal claims to its territories on the other side of the Oder and Neisse" as "the Federal Government's legal position which cannot be renounced". (*Entwurf für Europa*, Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart, 2nd edition, 1966, p. 81)

The Government of the Federal Republic thus raises a claim to

regions with an area of 225,000 square kilometres which lie outside the territory of the West German state, including a third of the territory of the People's Republic of Poland. This dangerous demand was in fact given the cloak of legality by the Bonn Bundestag on 23 June, 1966. In it the West German Government declared its sovereignty and jurisdiction over the citizens of the GDR and over citizens of Poland and the Soviet Union. And that is revanchism. That is an attempt to win the war Hitler lost in 1945, subsequently, it is nothing short of anticipated aggression, clothed in legality.

Federal Chancellor Kiesinger confirmed on 18 December, 1966, on the American CBS television system the adherence of his Government to the program of revenge:

"The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany cannot accept the fact that the German frontiers were irrevocably fixed at the end of the war."

Ten months later, on 10 October, 1967, Herr Kiesinger hypocritically declared in a speech in West Berlin:

"Where in West Germany, except for a few fools, are there any revanchists and imperialists?"

Well, facts show that the revanchists and imperialists sit in the West German Government itself, that revanchism is the official state doctrine of the Bonn Government. Revanchism is the political system of the West German Federal Republic and it permeates all spheres of the state from the schools to war veterans' associations.

One meets the Bonn claim to reestablish the German Reich within the frontiers of 1937 everywhere: in school geography textbooks, on the map of the daily television weather report, on wall maps in the offices and on the federal railways and at West German exhibitions abroad. The most recent example is a pamphlet distributed in India in November 1968 on behalf of the Press Office of the Bonn Government. The "German Reich" within the borders of 1937 is shown in it. Where the "German Democratic Republic" in truth should be seen, one reads "occupied by the USSR in 1945", and the areas east of the Oder-Neisse frontier bear the designation "under the administration of Poland and the USSR".

Revanchism and imperialism in West Germany—only the "hobby" of a few fools?

There are 29 revanchist Landsmannschaften (associations of fellow-countrymen) and a further 50 revanchist organizations in the Federal Republic. They publish 350 newspapers and periodicals with a total circulation of more than two million copies. Their

leaders boast that with these publications they regularly influence some eight million people politically to their way of thinking.

As evidence of the function performed by the revanchist organizations in the Bonn government's expansion programme we reproduce these few citations:

Erich Schellhaus, chairman of the "Silesian Landsmannschaft", on 15 October, 1967, in Mainz:

"We are not a homeland organization. Our task is to be an organization for struggle."

Dr. Oskar Eggert, one of the leaders of the "Sudeten German Landsmannschaft", at a revanchist meeting on 2 June, 1968, in Cologne:

"The Landsmannschaften are political organizations to struggle for the reestablishment of the Reich frontiers of 1937!"

At the same meeting Kai-Uwe von Hassel then Minister for Expellees and today President of the Bundestag, supported him:

"The Federal Government is not a Government for the recognition of renunciation."

The West German monopolies have their own "information sheet" which is published by Verlag Hoppenstedt & Co. in Darmstadt under the title *Deutsche Aktiengesellschaften mit Ostvermögen* (German Joint-Stock Companies with Eastern Assets). In one of the latest editions West German trusts raise claim to

786 enterprises in the GDR
172 enterprises in the People's Republic of Poland
8 enterprises in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and
28 enterprises in the USSR.

The West German trusts have not given up their aim of regaining what they had stolen in Hitler German's predatory war at the cost of millions of lives. And the 1967 program of the West German neo-nazi party categorically demands:

"This Germany shall in fact liberate East Germany from its Communist regime. But it is also to embrace the eastern regions which at present have been annexed by Poland and the USSR, the Sudetenland reconquered by Czechoslovakia, Austria, which is no genuine nation, and South Tyrol which is oppressed by Italy." (*Report by the French news agency AFP*, 13 November, 1967)

All these facts illuminate the eminent danger to peace and the security of Europe arising out of the Bonn Government's policy of revenge. It is in accord with the peace interests of the European peoples and the peoples of the whole world when the countries

of the Socialist community call a decisive "halt!" to the aggressive policy of West German imperialism. The Government of the USSR in its memorandum of 5 July, 1968, addressed a serious warning to the West German Government: "There is no return to the Reich and there will never be a return!". And Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, declared at the 9th session of the Central Committee of the SED in October 1968:

"Only incorrigible imperialist adventurists can expect the Socialist states to have any inclination to capitulate to the demands of West German revenge-seeking politicians or other imperialist aggressors . . . All peace-loving countries and peoples should—we think—unite in rejecting the peace-disturbing Bonn policy and in seriously making positive efforts to prepare for the ever more urgently needed conference of European peoples and states for peace and security in Europe." (*Neues Deutschland*, 25 October, 1968)

Hallstein Doctrine—Foreign Policy Instrument of the Bonn Sole Representation Pretension

The so-called Hallstein Doctrine has been the leading foreign policy line of the West German Government for enforcing its sole representation pretension since 1955. The purpose of this Doctrine is to erect a political, economic, cultural and scientific wall against the Socialist German state, to isolate it and exclude it from the international arena so as to prepare for its annexation.

The Hallstein Doctrine implies in its original form that the Government of the West German Federal Republic will break off diplomatic relations with all states—excepting only the main victor power, the Soviet Union—which officially recognize the GDR and take up diplomatic relations to it.

In the last years the Hallstein Doctrine has on the one hand been sharpened, and on the other modified and "made more flexible". Bonn threatens other states with the breaking off of diplomatic relations and with severe economic penalties if they even "upgrade" their relations to the GDR, that means, develop normal relations to the GDR in accordance with Article 1 of the United Nations Charter of 26 June, 1945: ". . . to develop friendly relations between the nations, based on respect for the principle of equal rights and the self-determination of the peoples . . ."

Federal Chancellor Kiesinger stated in an interview with *Welt am Sonntag* on 31 December 1967:

"The Hallstein Doctrine will not be abandoned. I made that clear again on my Asia trip."

West German Foreign Minister Willy Brandt was in office only four weeks when he threatened:

"If the nations friendly to Bonn and the countries of the Third World should recognize the Government in East Berlin the Hallstein Doctrine with all its negative effects will be applied." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, West Germany, 4 January, 1967)

This is the typical traditional policy of coercion of German imperialism, which does not lessen its well-known evilness by being veiled with phrases about "the peoples' right of self-determination". The unmistakable truth is that the Government in Bonn seeks to force other peoples under the dictates of its sole representation pretension and to keep them from exercising their sovereign rights through political coercion and economic pressure. The Government of the imperialist West German state presumes to dictate to other countries with whom they may or may not take up normal relations. The Bonn dictate is directly primarily aimed at the independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, but it is also directed against West Germany's close allies and other capitalist countries in Europe. And as far as the young developing states are concerned, so-called development aid is sent as a special weapon to the forefront of the cold war against the GDR. The periodical *Vereinte Nationen*, which appears in Bonn wrote in its April 1967 number that the West German Government must "constantly wave checks" in order to saddle the Governments in Asia, Africa and Latin America with the Hallstein Doctrine. And the American *Christian Science Monitor* admitted on 10 April, 1968: "Development aid is used as a method of exerting pressure to prevent the recognition of East Germany."

In its stubborn pursuit of the Hallstein Doctrine the Bonn Government takes upon itself the right to dictate to its own allies and seeks to put other European countries under its "protection".

The West German Government has repeatedly submitted resolutions to the leading bodies of the European Economic Community directed at discriminating against trade between EEC countries and the GDR, and presses for the implementation of these resolutions. Bonn insists on the following demands:

1. The EEC countries' trade with the GDR must be kept down and may not exceed a certain level.

2. The GDR may not be granted long-term credit. This applies

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especially to investment credits, for example, the construction of installations for the GDR or the financing of other long-term projects.

3. All EEC countries' trade agreements with the GDR presuppose the knowledge and approval of the Bonn government.

The West German government exerts similar coercion on some countries of the European free trade area (EFTA). In his negotiations with leading politicians in England and Sweden Willy Brandt demanded a reduction in the trade between these countries and the GDR. At the same time he proposed that they should increase their trade with other European Socialist countries so as to produce differences in the "eastern bloc". In June 1967 the West German Foreign Minister during his official visit to Scandinavia expressed the expectation that the North European countries would continue to support the Bonn sole representation claim. Thus Social Democrat Willy Brandt conducts the old war against the Socialist German state on behalf of West German monopoly capital. While he conducts the political and economic struggle behind the scenes to harm the GDR, in the floodlights of the stage he protests his desire for "human relief" for citizens of the GDR.

In this connection a few remarks on the so-called Travel Office in West Berlin are necessary. This office was an institution of the Allied Control Council until 1948. Since the western powers destroyed the agreements on the four-power administration of Germany and wrecked the Allied Control Council with their open splitting policy in 1947 and 1948 there has been no legal foundation for the further existence of the Travel Office for more than twenty years. This "Travel Office" has in the meantime been transformed into a NATO organ. It operates exclusively as an instrument of the cold war against the GDR. At the behest of Bonn the Travel Office refuses to issue entry visas to NATO countries to GDR politicians, economists, scientists, artists, journalists and sportsmen or discriminates against them in other ways. Thus, this institution has the same intention as the Hallstein Doctrine: "To put barriers around the GDR". (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 14 October, 1967)

This is absolutely contrary to international law and violates the sovereignty of the GDR as well as the NATO states, which are not "wards" of the government of veteran nazi Kiesinger. An orderly coexistence of the European peoples requires that this agency of the cold war be finally abolished . . .

The West German Federal Republic had for years practised a policy of diplomatic self-isolation towards the European Socialist

countries. In October 1957 Bonn applied the Hallstein Doctrine to Belgrade and broke off diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia when its Government exchanged legations with the GDR. In the middle of the 1960s the Bonn Government began to modify the Hallstein Doctrine so far as its application to the socialist countries of Europe was concerned.

Why? Because the politicians in Bonn, who are vehement anti-Communists, suddenly out of honest hearts wanted to establish normal relations corresponding to the principles of peaceful co-existence with the Socialist countries of Europe and thereby make a contribution to the elimination of tensions in Europe?

Nothing of the kind. It was—and is—for them only a question of tactics, the attempt to adapt the old aggressive policy to the relation of forces in Europe which had shifted in favour of Socialism. The Hallstein Doctrine was made more flexible in order to open up ways to West German imperialism to penetrate into the Socialist community of states and bring about the isolation of the GDR in a roundabout way. The aggressive nature of this Doctrine was in no way forsaken.

Incidentally, the Government of the West German Federal Republic itself made the Hallstein Doctrine an absurdity with the reestablishment of diplomatic relations to Yugoslavia in January 1968. GDR Foreign Minister Otto Winzer declared in this connection in February 1968 before the People's Chamber Committee on Foreign Affairs:

"In fact, after the Bonn Government has itself cancelled the application of the Hallstein Doctrine in the case of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, a non-aligned state, it no longer has any pretext for justifying its application to other states... That is the proof of the untenability of the Hallstein Doctrine. The time is ripe and it is also quite possible to reject the sole representation claim, normalize state relations with the German Democratic Republic and take up diplomatic relations to the Socialist German state under conditions of peaceful coexistence." (*Neues Deutschland*, 17 February 1968)

The Creeping Annexation of West Berlin

Especially in the recent period attempts to incorporate West Berlin as the 11th federal *Land* in the imperialist West German state have been made. There has been an increase in provocative appearances of Bonn politicians, meetings of West German Bundes-

tag committees and "special consultations" by Bonn ministers in West Berlin. Groups of Bundeswehr reservists are flown to West Berlin for "instruction at the wall". Responsible for its organization is District Command 22 of the Bundeswehr in Hanover. The press service of the West Berlin CDU, *Berliner Briefe*, demanded in December 1967 that the Bonn Government should officially transfer the seats of several ministries to West Berlin. Governing Mayor Klaus Schütz of West Berlin said that there are a number of "quiet reflections" in this direction which one "should not debate in the large marketsquare". (Interview with the *Morgenpost*, West Berlin, 24 December, 1967)

All these activities are aimed at one goal: to extend West Berlin's role as a NATO base and as a centre of psychological warfare against the GDR and other Socialist countries. The West German weekly *Christ und Welt* on 29 December, 1967 openly demanded that Bonn would have to "prevent a consolidation of the GDR with the help of West Berlin".

An especially serious provocative act was the holding of the Congress of the West German CDU in November 1968 in West Berlin, 180 kilometres to the east of the state frontier of the Federal Republic. There a program of intensified expansion was adopted, in which it was stated, for example: "The state and social order of the Federal Republic of Germany must be understood as an all-German task." In clear language this means that the dictatorship of West German monopoly capital is to be extended to the Socialist GDR! Point 10 of the CDU program reads: "West Berlin is a *Land* of the Federal Republic of Germany. The CDU demands that without prejudice to the political guarantees of the Berlin protective powers West Berlin be integrated politically in the Federal Republic."

This presumption is absolutely illegal and an open defiance of the Western Allies whose unaltered standpoint is that West Berlin is not part of the West German Federal Republic. On 24 May, 1967, the US, British and French occupation commandants confirmed:

"It conforms now, as in the past, to the intention and conception of the allies that (West) Berlin is neither to be looked upon as a *Land* of the Federal Republic nor to be governed by it."

The GDR and the Soviet Union in a joint communique of 12 December, 1967, urgently warned against the expansionist striving of West German imperialism towards West Berlin which is directed against European security. This policy, the communique stated, will "meet with determined resistance as an open aggression".

What Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee

of the SED and Chairman of the GDR State Council said at the SED Seventh Congress in April 1967, concerning the resolute attitude of the GDR to the West Berlin problem remains valid without any alteration:

"We take the interests of peace and European security into full consideration in our proposals . . . West Berlin is a special political entity and lies on the territory of the German Democratic Republic. And under no circumstances will West Berlin ever belong to the West German Federal Republic.

"But in agreement with the USSR, we are prepared, through a treaty, to allow West Berlin to have an indepedent status as a special political entity. On the basis of appropriate treaties, we are prepared to allow the special political entity of West Berlin to use the GDR transit routes. We strive for normal and good relations between the Government of the German Democratic Republic and the Senate of West Berlin. We are prepared to cooperate in the economic field and also in other fields. The prerequisite, of course, is that West Berlin, with which we wish to have good relations as with all countries including West Germany, does not serve the West German imperialists and politicians of revenge as a spearhead of cold war and diversion against the German Democratic Republic."

Bonn Opposed to Renouncing Nuclear Weapons

In view of the obvious dangers to peace and security in Europe arising from the Bonn policy of revenge, it is nothing short of the law of self-preservation for the European peoples to prevent the West German Federal Republic from ever having access, in whatever form, to nuclear weapons. The Political Consultative Committee of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty expressly stated in its Bucharest declaration of July 1966:

"To a great extent the future of the European peoples, and not only the European peoples, depends on how this question is decided."

To grasp the full extent of the danger of this problem one must recall the internal "Memorandum of the Leading Staff of the Bundeswehr" of August 1960, which stated:

"The regaining of the German East is inconceivable without the atomic arming of the Bundeswehr."

There are extremist forces in the West German Government and

in the military leadership as well as–serving special profit interests–in the West German economy who are doing everything within their power to obtain possession of the bomb for West Germany, or at least to get joint control of nuclear weapons in a West European "community" under West German hegemony. Their prominent spokesman is Franz Josef Strauss who wrote in his book *Entwurf für Europa* (The Grand Design) (page 104):

"I am convinced . . . that in the long run there is only one solution that gives the Federal Republic real equality with similar partners, namely, a European atomic weapon potential."

Strauss declared on 12 July, 1960 that the main aim of Bonn policy must be reached with the atomic armament of the Federal Republic:

To make "West Germany the most versatile and thereby the determining military and economic power in Western Europe."

The West German newspaper *Stimme der Freiheit* in its September 1966 edition even defended the point of view that the existence of the West German state depended on the possession of nuclear weapons: "Bonn's to be or not to be between 1970 and 1975 is whether to have atomic weapons or not."

Thus it anticipated what the West German diplomat Professor Grewe–an old nazi since 1933–expressed in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of 14 February, 1967:

"Nations without their own nuclear weapons will in future scarcely be in a position to play the role of a great power."

All this means that West German imperialism is striving for nuclear weapons in order to play its role fully as an aggressive great power in Europe and to be able to "back up" its policy of changing the status quo with atomic threats. And what does Herr Kiesinger say?

"We favour a consistent and effective peace policy through which political tensions are abolished and the arms race limited. We shall cooperate on proposals for armament control, the reduction of armament and disarmament." (From Kiesinger's Government declaration of 13 December, 1966)

What initiatives of its own has the Government in Bonn taken up to now for an arms reduction and for disarmament? In November 1968 the West German Government announced that it was going to increase its already considerable armament expenditures by an additional 2.5 thousand million marks by 1972. And if the West German Government was really in favour of a "consistent and effective peace policy" why does it fight tooth and nail against signing the Nuclear Weapon Non-Proliferation Treaty? More than

80 countries have signed this treaty up to now. The signature of the West German Government is lacking. Rather it prefers to do everything possible to gather international opposition to the Nuclear Weapon Non-Proliferation Treaty. Minister Strauss provocatively declared:

"I am an enemy of this treaty, and I can tell you that I shall fight it... It is a new Versailles, and one of cosmic dimensions."

The attitude of the West German Government on this question, so decisive for peace in Europe and the world, in an alarming way recalls Hitler's policy. Hitler declared on 23 March, 1933–in the same vein as Federal Chancellor Kiesinger on 13 December, 1966 in the Bundestag–:

"The Reich Government will support every effort aimed at effectively serving general disarmament."

A year later Schwendemann, the armament specialist in the Foreign Office of the Nazi Government, stated:

"The aim of German policy is clear and unambiguous: arms equality between Germany and the surrounding countries and thereby regaining in fact a great power position." (Schwendemann, *Gleiches Recht und gleiche Sicherheit* ⟨The Same Rights and the Same Security⟩, Berlin, 1934, p. 98)

Where is there any difference in the demand of Franz Josef Strauss for "equality" in the arming of the Bundeswehr "with similar weapons"? One can only say:

Woe to the peoples of Europe and the world if they do not prevent the heirs of Hitler from getting even a finger on the trigger of atomic weapons!

That the West German imperialists have still further-reaching, more dangerous goals, namely, of employing bacteriological and chemical weapons of mass extermination in a future war is to be seen from an article in the organ of the neo-Nazi party *Deutsche Nachrichten* on 13 September, 1968. It states with unprecedented cynicism:

"If it ever comes to an international treaty outlawing bacteriological and chemical warfare West German chemical research and the chemical industry would be reduced to producing garden hoses and plastic buckets. West German economic power, at the moment one of the few trump cards, must not be gambled away."

The microbiologist Dr. Ehrenfried Petras who in November 1968 emigrated from West Germany to the GDR exposed at an international press conference on 6 December, 1968 in Berlin alarming facts about preparations for bacteriological and chemical warfare in the West German Federal Republic. Dr. Petras, who was em-

ployed for nearly nine years at the Institute of Aerobiology in Grafschaft, West Germany, stated, among other things:

"As laboratory head I carried out investigations into problems of biological and chemical warfare for years. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with the entire program of the Institute. In addition I know a large number of scientists who are at present occupied with questions of ABC warfare in the West German Federal Republic, and I had an insight into the mechanism of their cooperation.

"I must say today that I became more alarmed from year to year at the variety and intensity of war preparations in this field. The fact that a new war, in which bacteriological and chemical weapons are also to be employed, is openly spoken about and as a matter of course in the officer corps of the Bundeswehr appears particularly frightening to me . . ."

Bonn's "New" Eastern Policy— Part of the US Global Strategy

We have already stated elsewhere that the change in the relation of forces in favour of Socialism compelled the Washinton-Bonn axis to adopt other tactics towards the European Socialist countries. That does not mean that the militant anti-Communist forces in the USA and West Germany have given up for all time their plans of aggression against Socialism in Europe. These plans have not been filed away in the archives of military history, but in the steel files of the NATO command staffs. Under the pressure of realities they have been adapted to the new political situation in recent years. The content is, first, to undermine a number of Socialist states by nonmilitary, apparently peaceful means, disintegrate them through ideological subversion, undermine the stability of Socialist power, shake the leading role of the Communist parties, produce economic dependence on the capitalist countries and break the unity of action of the Socialist countries.

The policy of "building bridges to the peoples of Eastern Europe" formulated by former US President Johnson has since 1966 become the doctrine of imperialist global strategy against the European Socialist states. The Bonn Government trims its revanchist aims to suit this strategy for which it uses the term "new eastern policy". The main aim of this policy is to export counter-revolution and to undermine Socialism in order to alter the status quo in Europe.

The "new" more flexible eastern policy is directed at separating the Socialist countries. This is expressed in the slogan of promoting "greater independence for the East European countries". This does not mean independence from imperialism, but the shaking of the firm solidarity of the Socialist community of states, the real guarantee of their independence.

West German Foreign Minister Willy Brandt makes no secret of the fact that the Bonn "new eastern policy" is a part of US global strategy. In August 1967 he declared before the Extraordinary Congress of Social Democrats in Bremen:

"The Federal Republic is in full agreement with the American policy on Eastern Europe."

And in a speech before the Heads of Mission of 30 African states on 16 May, 1968, in Bonn he emphasized:

"Without the American engagement in Europe the goal of a European peace order cannot be reached."

A European "peace order" with the murderers of Vietnamese women and children, with the brutal violent attackers of the coloured people of the USA who are conducting a determined struggle for their most elementary civil rights?

American Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski, a specialist in anti-Communism and psychological warfare, characterized the tactics of US imperialism's global strategy as follows in his book *Alternative to Partition* (New York, 1965):

"The status quo in Europe is anything but satisfactory... The ideological undermining of Communism still limps behind European union. The goal of winning back Eastern Europe and Russia for Europe is suitable for giving Western Europe a new engagement and irresistibly attracting Eastern Europe with magnetic force... The Soviet position in Europe must be undermined." (Retranslated from German)

The Bonn Government's "new" eastern policy rests precisely on this conception. Franz Josef Strauss wrote in the first edition of his book *Entwurf für Europa*, which appeared in London in 1965 under the title *The Grand Design*, that it was a question of finding the "best form of approach" to the Socialist countries, through which the "international organization of the Communist world empire is softened up" and "can be broken up from within".

In the 1966 edition of his book published by the Seewald Verlag in Stuttgart Franz Josef Strauss recommended as methods to be used by Bonn in its eastern policy "drawing Eastern and Southeast European peoples more closely to Western Europe through cultural

and economic connections: through the exchange of youth groups and academics, tourism, sports and many other suitable means". The distant goal of this more flexible tactic towards the European Socialist countries must be the "change in the status quo, naturally in favour of the West".

Already in number 11/1962 of the West German periodical *Aussenpolitik*, the publishers of which include Federal Chancellor Kiesinger, a certain Alard von Schack demanded:

"Our ideas are to be smuggled into public life of the Communist countries with all the resources of modern propaganda in a psychologically clever way." This is a necessary prerequisite for "internal change and transformation" in the Socialist countries. "These natural developments are to be speeded up by means of uninterrupted work which exhausts the opponent... Here in Europe decisive circumstances speak for the possibility of successful psychological warfare waged by the West..."

All this blows away the smoke-screen phrases about "relaxation" and "reconciliation with the peoples of Eastern Europe", by which Kiesinger, Brandt and Strauss seek to delude the public on the real intentions of the "new" Bonn eastern policy. The unadorned face of German imperialism is revealed. It shows that German imperialism, which after two fruitless attempts, is preparing "a new order" for Europe for the third time, this time with American imperialism as its main ally.

How can one speak of a "new" eastern policy of the Bonn Government when it does not renounce a single element of its revanchist policy? How can one believe its protestations that it is striving "with an honest heart for friendly relations" with the Socialist countries of Europe when Federal Chancellor Kiesinger proclaimed in Munich on 13 July, 1968 as the rigid program of his Government:

"Recognition of the existence of two sovereign German states, recogniton of the Oder-Neisse frontier and the invalidity of the Munich Agreement from the very beginning—nothing can induce me to sign this capitulation. This statement also applies to the entire Federal Government, including this Government's coalition partners."

It is very revealing that of all parties the West German NPD (neo-Nazi party) declared itself to be one of the initiators of the "new" Bonn eastern policy. On 3 February, 1967, its organ *Deutsche Nachrichten* wrote:

"With it (the 'new' eastern policy—editor) the federal government is pursuing a demand of the NPD announced already at the 1st Federal Congress in Hanover in 1965... It fills the NPD with

satisfaction that the way mapped out by it (!) for an active Eastern Europe policy is now bearing the first young blossoms . . ."

The decisive criterion for a Bonn eastern policy aimed at peace and security in Europe is the recognition in international law of the GDR and the establishment of normal relations to the Socialist German state. But the West German Government refuses to do just that. Rather, it sees the isolation of the GDR from the Socialist community as the main goal of its "new" eastern policy and step-by-step to prepare for its annexation on the basis of a phased program. This, too, agrees completely with the objectives of the global strategy of US imperialism.

The already mentioned American Professor Brzezinski wrote in *Alternative to Partition*:

"In order to undermine the East European interest in the existence of East Germany the West must distinctly differentiate in its attitude to East Germany and the rest of Eastern Europe. Towards East Germany a policy of isolation is demanded . . ." (retranslated from German)

American Senator James Fulbright suggested that the Bonn Government should so arrange its relations with the European Socialist countries that they lead to "a weakening of the latter's obligations" towards the GDR and "at the same time undermining the regime there". (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 26 May, 1965)

West German CDU Bundestag deputy Ernst Majonica demanded in his book *Deutsche Aussenpolitik* (German Foreign Policy) (Stuttgart, 1965):

"We must do everything possible to prevent an equality of interests between the zone (meaning the GDR—editor) and the Central and East European countries. Indeed, it would even be an advance on the present situation if these countries would remain neutral on the German question."

With these insidious tactics West German imperialism hopes to bring the other Socialist countries into opposition to the GDR, to drive a wedge between them in order then to penetrate the GDR through the back door. Therefore, the Socialist German state is expressly excluded from the "new" eastern policy and the aggressive sole representation pretension is maintained.

What the West German *Stuttgarter Zeitung* of 11 April, 1967, said on the eastern policy of the Bonn Government is quite apt:

"The difference in the methods of the Adenauer and Erhard Governments lay in the fact that they approached the goal for the liberation of East Germany frontally, whereas our policy of relaxa-

tion aims at reaching this goal gradually and in a roundabout way."

If one draws the conclusion from the facts it would be: The policy of revenge of West German militarism and neo-Nazism camouflaged as the "new" eastern policy aims at changing the status quo in Europe, at a revision of the frontiers which came into existence as a result of the Second World War;

it has in view the establishment of the hegemony of a reunited imperialist Germany in Western and Central Europe and thereby the creation of starting positions for "forcing a retreat" on Socialism in Europe;

it is directed against the unity and integrity of the Socialist camp and aims at weakening the defence organization of the Warsaw Treaty, the main guarantee of peace in Europe;

it aims at ideological, political and economic intervention in the internal order and internal affairs of Socialist countries with the purpose of starting counter-revolutionary developments;

it includes—if conditions are favourable—in line with Hitler's "Blitzkrieg strategy", West German imperialism's going over to direct open aggression against the GDR and against other Socialist countries.

The German Democratic Republic— a Stable Factor of Peace in Europe

The Socialist epoch of German history was opened up in the form of the German Democratic Republic. The social system in the GDR is based on the power of the working class under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist Party, and on the social ownership of the means of production. There are no longer any classes in the GDR which can exploit their own people and strive through war to extend their power over other peoples. Here the roots of imperialism and militarism were destroyed once and for all, after 1945, by the anti-fascist democratic revolution and the Socialist revolution. With this development the stipulations of the Potsdam Agreement were fully realized on the soil of the GDR.

What Friedrich Engels, the co-founder of scientific Socialism and Karl Marx's closest comrade-in-struggle, demanded 100 years ago has been implemented in the German Democratic Republic:

"If Germany's blood and money is no longer to be squandered against its own interest for the oppression of other nations, we must set up a real people's Government, the old building must be

torn down to its foundation. Only then can the blood-thirsty cowardly policy of the old system make way for the international policy of democracy."

Internally the basic democratic and Socialist transformation laid the foundation on which the GDR erected the new building for a foreign policy which is consistently in line with the safeguarding of peace in Europe and friendship with all peoples. The GDR's Socialist Constitution, which was adopted by 94 % of the voters in a country-wide plebiscite on 6 April, 1968, obliges every GDR citizen to constantly work for peace and socialism, understanding among the peoples and security as a basic principle of Government policy. Article 6 of the Constitution states specifically:

"The German Democratic Republic strives for a system of collective security in Europe and a stable order of peace in the world. It supports general disarmament. Militarist and revanchist propaganda in all forms, warmongering and the manifestation of hatred against creeds, races and nations are punished as crimes."

It is a manifestation of the Socialist state of the German nation, which has earned itself through its deeds over the last two decades the honourable name of the German peace state among all progressives, an obligation which it proudly lives up to, and expresses on German soil the incontrovertible truth which has prevailed ever since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, that Socialism and peace are inseparably linked with each other.

On a Straight Peace Course

Already in the first Government declaration of 12 October, 1949, five days after the founding of the GDR, Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl mapped out the road to peace which the German Democratic Republic resolutely followed in the following years:

"German imperialism brought two world wars to the German people in one generation. This must not be repeated. All progressive forces must in unity see to it that German imperialism can never again destroy the basis of life of the German people in its drive for conquests."

From the very first day of its existence the GDR Government considered its national mission and its responsibility to the peoples of Europe to be the prevention of a war ever again starting from German soil. This requires the muzzling and overcoming of West German militarism and neo-Nazism, the abandonment by the Bonn Government of its revanchist policy, the sole representation claim

and the striving for nuclear weapons. This requires that the principles of the Potsdam Agreement of the anti-Hitler coalition finally be fulfilled in West Germany, as they have long since been implemented in the GDR.

The German Democratic Republic struggles for the establishment of normal relations on a basis of equality and peaceful coexistence between the two German states. That is a central question of European security. The Government of the GDR has made many constructive proposals during the course of all these years aimed at establishing conditions under which the two German states could exist alongside each other peacefully and which would create important prerequisites for the development of a system of collective security in Europe. Let us recall a few of these proposals:

1956

The two German states should make an effort to bring about the conclusion of a treaty on collective security in Europe and a reduction of foreign troops stationed in Germany;

The obligation by treaty of the two German states to abstain from any use of force against each other; prohibition of all propaganda and preparation for an atomic war on German soil;

Improvement in the relations between the GDR and the Federal Republic by agreements in various fields of economic and cultural life.

1957

The People's Chamber of the GDR called upon the West German Bundestag to support the Polish proposal for the formation of an atomic-weapon-free zone in Central Europe.

The Governments of the two German states shall immediately begin with the preparation of a peace treaty with Germany.

1959

Dr. Lothar Bolz, then Foreign Minister of the GDR, submitted the draft of a non-aggression pact between the two German states to the Conference of Foreign Ministers in Geneva.

1960

The Government of the GDR adressed a concrete program to the 15th Session of the UN General Assembly for general and complete disarmament in Germany to be implemented in three stages (1960 to 1964).

1961

In the "German Peace Plan" the Government of the GDR proposed to the West German Government and the Bundestag the conclusion of an agreement of goodwill for the improvement in relations between the two German states.

In a letter to the Bonn Government the Government of the GDR proposed, among others:

The two German states bind themselves to respect each other's sovereignty,

the two German states renounce the atomic armament of their armed forces and the production of atomic weapons,

the two German states support the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the states of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO,

the two German states seek admission to the United Nations.

1963

Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, proposed before the People's Chamber that the GDR and the West German Federal Republic should reach agreement to reduce their military expenditures in the state budget and on an arms stop in Germany.

1964

In a letter to Federal Chancellor Erhard, Walter Ulbricht submitted the draft of a treaty on the complete renunciation of nuclear weapons by the two German states.

1965

As a step to the safeguarding of peace Walter Ulbricht proposed:

An arms stop in the two German states and the use of the money saved therefrom for social and educational purposes;

the renunciation of atomic armament in any form by the two German states;

negotiations on the establishment of normal relations between the two German states and between the GDR and the special territory of West Berlin;

abolition of discrimination in the trade between the two German states and the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual establishment of commercial representations;

repeal of West German laws which expose GDR citizens to the arbitrary acts of West German state and legal organs.

1967

GDR Prime Minister Willi Stoph sent West German Federal Chancellor Kiesinger the "draft of a treaty on the establishment and maintenance of normal relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany". Article 2 of the draft treaty stated:

"The Governments of the two German states reach agreement on the renunciation of the use of force.

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany bind themselves to base their mutual relations on the following principles:

respect for sovereignty, equality of rights and non-intervention in internal affairs,

respect for the territorial integrity of the European states,

recognition of the existing frontiers in Europe, including the Oder-Neisse frontier and the frontier between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany,

recognition of West Berlin as an independent political entity,

recognition of the invalidity of the Munich Agreement from the very beginnig and

renunciation by the two German states of access to nuclear weapons or the storage of nuclear weapons on their territories . . ."

1968

In his New Year message Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, renewed the basic proposals of the German Democratic Republic for the two German states to live with and alongside each other peacefully.

On 21 June the GDR Council of State proposed to all West German citizens as well as the Government and Bundestag in Bonn:

1. The Governments of the two German states obligate themselves to sign without delay the international Nuclear-Weapon-Non-Proliferation Treaty serving to avoid a nuclear war.

2. Conclusion of a treaty valid in international law between the Government of the GDR and the Government of the West German Federal Republic which excludes the stockpiling of nuclear warheads on the territories of the two German states.

3. Conclusion of a treaty valid in international law between the Government of the GDR and the Government of the West German Federal Republic on the non-use of force in relations between the two German states.

4. Conclusion of a treaty valid in international law between the Government of the GDR and the Government of the West German Federal Republic on the recognition of the status quo and the existing frontiers in Europe.

Fighting Consistently for the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Whereas the Bonn Government resists in every way possible the signing of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons which came into existence on the initiative of the Soviet Union, the Government of the GDR was not only one of the first countries in the world to sign but also supported the preparation for the Treaty with its own initiatives. The Government of the German Democratic Republic has long proceeded from the view that the renunciation by the two German states of nuclear weapons in every form is a basic prerequisite for European security. Already on 26 July, 1957, the Government of the GDR had proposed an "agreement on the prohibition of the stockpiling and production of atomic weapons on German soil and the prohibition of propaganda for an atomic war" to the West German Government. This proposal was repeated several times in the following years and made more precise. Up to the present day these peace initiatives of the GDR have been rejected by all Bonn Governments.

When the USSR in 1962 warned against arming the West German Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons and called upon the nuclear powers to obligate themselves in an agreement not to give other states access to nuclear weapons the Government of the GDR immediately declared its readiness to renounce the acquisition, production and storing of nuclear weapons if the Government in Bonn would assume the same obligation.

On 6 January, 1964, the GDR was the first state to submit to the world public a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons especially for the two German states. In a declaration to the 18-State Disarmament Commission in Geneva on 10 October, 1967, the Government of the GDR emphasized, with reference to the Soviet draft of a nuclear weapon non-proliferation treaty, that such a treaty had the unflinching support of the GDR primarily because it furthered the security of the European peoples which are increasingly subjected to the atomic threats and coercion of West German imperialism. The GDR Government further stated in the declaration:

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"The West German Federal Republic has the prerequisites for its own production of nuclear weapons. Its resistance to uniform control by the International Atomic Energy Agency can only be assessed as the intention to find ways to produce nuclear weapons by itself or in collaboration with other states and to keep open the possibility of obtaining control of nuclear weapons within the framework of regional groupings."

As representative of the Government of the GDR Foreign Minister Otto Winzer signed the Nuclear-Weapon-Non-Proliferation Treaty in Moscow on 1 July, 1968. On this occasion he stated:

"Today there are two German states of which only the German Democratic Republic has fulfilled the obligations arising out of the Potsdam Agreement and conscientiously sought to ensure that war never again starts from German soil. From this feeling of responsibility and desire for peace the GDR unreservedly expresses its faith in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons . . ."

And at an international press conference on 25 September, 1968, in Berlin GDR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Georg Stibi underlined the consistent continuation of the peace policy of the socialist German state:

"We renew our proposal that the German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic join a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Central Europe and thus remove the obstacles which still stand in the way of the establishment of a more extensive nuclear-weapon-free area in the other parts of Europe . . ."

The GDR Promotes a System of European Security

In accordance with its obligation not to permit a war ever again starting from German soil, the Government of the GDR works for an effective system of collective security in Europe. It is of the firm conviction that only through a system of European security based on the principles of equality and the recognition of territorial integrity can the peaceful future of the peoples of the European continent, including the German nation, be safeguarded. Only in a Europe that is reliably and permanently safeguarded from the dangers of West German militarism and neo-Nazism can the people of the German Democratic Republic implement their great peaceful work, the completion of Socialism. The policy of the GDR is directed at this goal in connection with collective security in Europe.

The GDR Government declared already on 31 October, 1955:

"The conclusion of a treaty on collective security is the most effective measure for guaranteeing lasting peace in Europe. Every step in this direction directly serves peace . . ."

In the following years the Government of the GDR contributed with many initiatives of its own to the development of a system of collective security and a stable peace order in Europe. For example, it addressed a declaration to all European states on 22 January, 1966 in which it proposed:

" 1. The step-by-step bringing about of a relaxation of tension in Europe by an agreement on arms limitations, especially through the renunciation of nuclear weapons in any form by all non-nuclear weapon possessing European countries.

2. Respect for existing frontiers and strict attention to their inviolability; renunciation of all efforts to revise them.

3. Normalization of relations between all European countries and the two German states."

In the view of the GDR and in agreement with the decisions of the Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states in July 1966 and the consultation of the Communist and workers' parties of Europe in April 1967 in Karlovy Vary a European security system should above all contain the following elements:

The normalization of the relations of European countries with different social systems on the basis of peaceful coexistence, particularly relations with the GDR on a basis of equality.

Recognition of the territorial status quo, especially the Oder-Neisse frontier and the frontier between the GDR and West Germany.

The renunciation of the use of force in inter-state relations, disarmament measures, especially concerning nuclear weapons, including the establishment of atomic-weapon-free zones in Europe.

Recognition of the invalidity of the Munich Agreement from the very beginning.

Respect for the status of West Berlin as an independent political entity.

On 9 August, 1968, the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic proposed to the European states, "in the interest of bringing about European security, to conduct negotiations with the Government of the GDR and the Government of the Federal Republic, recognizing the equality of the two German states by all participating states, on the step-by-step bringing about of normal

diplomatic relations". At the same time the GDR Government addressed the Governments of all European countries with the request that, in the interest of peace in Europe and the entire world and of bringing about the peaceful existence of the GDR and the Federal Republic alongside each other, they "work for the inclusion of the two German states in the United Nations and its organizations on a basis of equality". (The Council of State of the GDR in its letter of 28 February, 1966, to United Nations Secretary General U Thant submitted its application for membership in the United Nations.)

The Government of the GDR considers the step-by-step normalization of the relations of all European states with each other as a basic requirement of European security. Here, inter-state relations, particularly in the fields of trade, economy, the sciences, culture, communal matters and sports, could play an important role in the phase of preparations for the full normalization of relations.

It is clear that the Socialist German state, which has become a stable factor of peace in Europe and which is one of the world's ten leading industrial states, cannot be "left out" of the process of developing a European security system. No road to the guarantee of peace and security in Europe makes a detour around the Socialist peace state of German nation.

"Against or even without the German Democratic Republic is neither a lasting solution of the problem of European security nor comprehensive fruitful collaboration among the states possible", declared GDR Foreign Minister Otto Winzer on 9 August, 1968, before the People's Chamber. "The danger arising to European security from neo-Nazism, revanchism and militarism in West Germany cannot be effectively combated without involving the great potentialities of the anti-Nazi and anti-militarist Socialist state of German nation, which has become an important factor of security in Europe, for guaranteeing peace in Europe. The implementation of the collaboration of all countries of Europe on a basis of equality with the German Democratic Republic is more urgent than ever before."

And Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, drew the conclusion in his speech to the People's Chamber on 1 December, 1967:

"The recognition of the GDR will inevitably come because the peoples of the countries of Western Europe are striving for European security and are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the normalization of relations between the Governments of the capitalist countries of Western Europe and the Government

of the GDR is a basic condition of European security. The recognition of the German Democratic Republic by the West German Federal Republic and other states will come because the people of West Germany, too, want neither a cold nor hot war, but want to live in peace, and because the peoples of the West European capitalist countries do not have the intention of sacrificing themselves for the revenge-seeking policy of the most reactionary, most aggressive forces of West Germany and their Hitler generals . . ."

The GDR—a Firm Part of the Socialist Community of States

The Socialist Constitution of the GDR stipulates:

"The German Democratic Republic fosters and develops all-round cooperation and friendship with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the other Socialist states on the basis of Socialist internationalism."

This is a firm basic principle of GDR policy, a corner-stone of its foreign policy. Particularly firm friendship and fraternal collaboration with the Soviet Union, the main force of the world Socialist system, is a decisive lesson of German history, it is a "vital necessity for the peace and happy future of the German nation". (Program of the SED, adopted at the Sixth Congress in January, 1963)

Imperialists of all countries always feared the rise of a peace-loving, anti-imperialist Germany linked with the Soviet Union. Winston Churchill wrote in 1919: "If we want to lay a hand on Russia it can only take place with the help of the Germans." In January 1920 General Allen, supreme commander of the US occupation army in Germany, noted in his diary: "An expansion by Germany on Russian territory would occupy the Germans for a long time." In the summer of 1941, shortly after Hitler Germany had attacked the Soviet Union, Harry S. Truman expressed the hope of world imperialism that the "Germans and Russians would kill each other off".

But the victory of the Soviet Union over Hitler Germany with unexampled heroism and unutterable sacrifices frustrated all the hopes of the imperialists. The world's first workers' and peasants' state even emerged from this frightful genocidal war politically, morally and militarily stronger, and a number of other East European peoples freed themselves from the yoke of capitalism. In view of the erroneous speculations of the imperialists Churchill exclaimed discouragingly:"We slaughtered the wrong pig!"

The plan of the imperialists to transform the whole of Germany —as after the First World War—into an anti-Communist bulwark could no longer be carried out. Under the protection and with the help of the Soviet Union the anti-fascist democratic forces of the German people in the east of Germany were able to gather, consolidate and take up the struggle against the incorrigible forces of reaction which again wanted to have the German people march against Socialism and the main force of human progress, the Soviet Union.

The German Democratic Republic has stood at the side of the Soviet Union since the very day of its founding. The young GDR commenced its foreign policy activity by bestablishing fraternal relations with the Soviet Union, which led to the Soviet Union's recognition of the full sovereignty of the GDR by treaty on 20 September, 1955. This treaty gave full freedom of decision on all internal and foreign policy questions to the German Democratic Republic. In the following years there were numerous other treaties and agreements between the two states. The most important in the recent period is the Treaty on Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Cooperation between the GDR and the USSR signed in Moscow on 12 June, 1964. It strengthened the international authority of the GDR and increased its security against imperialist attacks. Article 4 of the Treaty is introduced with the following words: "In view of the existing danger of a war of aggression emanating from the side of militarist and revanchist forces the parties to the Treaty solemnly declare that the inviolability of the state frontiers of the German Democratic Republic is one of the basic factors of European security."

At the Seventh Congress of the SED in April 1967 Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, declared:

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government have authorized me to declare once again from the tribune of your Party Congress that the rights and interests of the GDR, the construction of Socialism in your republic are just as close and dear to us as to you, Comrades. If necessary we will protect these interests resolutely and with all our might."

It is impossible to shake even in the slightest this community of interests, this unbreakable friendship between the USSR and the GDR. It is constantly developing further in all spheres of life, especially in economic and scientific and technical collaboration. The trade agreement between the two countries for the period from

1966 to 1970 signed on 3 December, 1965, is, with a turnover of 60 thousand million marks, the greatest ever concluded in the history of trade between two countries . . .

The German Democratic Republic is consolidating its friendly relations with the other Socialist countries on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism. It is of great importance for the countries concerned and for security in Europe that for the first time in history close friendly relations exist between a German state and its eastern neighbours.

The European Socialist states are united in the Warsaw Treaty. Its most urgent task is—in view of the aggravation of the situation in Europe by the revanchist policy of West German militarism—the strengthening of the joint defence power of the Socialist countries. The Warsaw Treaty was concluded in 1955 as a collective instrument of the Socialist states serving the protection of their achievements and the safeguarding of peace in Europe. Since that time it has stood all tests and proved to be an effective shield against all aggressive attempts of imperialism. As a result of the complicated international situation and the subversive activity of imperialism the organization of the Warsaw Treaty has gained in significance. There arises the compelling necessity of strengthening the alliance for the defence of the sovereignty and independence of every individual Socialist country. The consultation of Communist and workers' parties in Bratislava on 3 August, 1968, therefore with justification declared: "It is the joint international duty of all Socialist countries to support, consolidate and defend their achievements won thanks to the heroic efforts and unselfish work of all . . ."

From the fact that the Socialist states further strengthen their defence community they at the same time create the most important prerequisite for guaranteeing peace and security on the European continent.

But the Warsaw Treaty is more than a mere defence alliance. Thus, the member states obligated themselves to consult with each other on all important international questions involving their joint interests. For this purpose a Political Consultative Committee was formed in the work of which the German Democratic Republic takes part with its own activities. The treaties on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance which were concluded with the Soviet Union in 1964, and between the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria in 1967 are based on the Warsaw Treaty. Walter Ulbricht,

Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, said on 31 January, 1968, before the People's Chamber: "The treaties and relations between the GDR and the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries are exemplary for a German foreign policy corresponding to the national interests of our people."

The friendship and assistance treaties of the Socialist countries form together with the Warsaw Treaty a regional system which is the most effective guarantee of a successful policy of European security.

Freedom in Europe starts with the political, economic and military strength of the Socialist community of states. The Socialist community of states has maintained peace on the European continent for almost a quarter of a century. Its strength, its unity and integrity are in the future, too, the most important guarantee of the peace and security of Europe.

The German Democratic Republic, the Socialist state of the German nation, stands firmly in the community of Socialist states the basis and main force of which is the Soviet Union. It thus stands in the ranks of those who, at the head of all peace-loving anti-imperialist forces, are struggling for the progress of mankind, for its final freedom from war, exploitation and crises. The German Democratic Republic was, is and remains ready to make its contribution to European security and world peace. It is ready to take part in the preparation of a conference of European states which paves the way to the peaceful cooperation of *all* European peoples.

Concerning the attitude of the Government of the West German Federal Republic it cannot hold up the course of time without limit and disturb peace, security and cooperation in Europe with its policy of revenge and the sole representation claim.

II. The US Aggression in Vietnam and the Two German States

West Germany—
Principle European Partner of US Aggressors against the Vietnamese People

With the aggression against the Vietnamese people the US imperialists, in carrying out their global strategy in Southeast Asia, have created a centre of war during the past few years which constitutes a grave threat to world peace. This war has exceptionally sharpened the entire international situation and prevents mankind from solving the most important international problems.

With this open aggression within the framework of which barbarous means are employed, the USA has discredited itself politically and morally throughout the entire world. Even among the West European NATO allies the US Government finds hardly any sympathy, let alone open support for its action in Southeast Asia. The French Government sharply rejects the American aggression in Vietnam. But there is one exception: the Bonn Government which, in pursuance of its own policy against peace has an interest in keeping the world atmosphere strained.

In conformity with its presumption of the indivisibility of the defence of the "free world" and the "repulsion of Communism" the West German Government has engaged itself against the Vietnamese people ever since the beginning of the American aggression as no other Government has done. Every military escalation of the war in Vietnam by the USA was followed by an escalation of Bonn support for Washington and its Saigon puppets.

Applause for the Murderers

The open approval of the West German Government for the US aggression against the Vietnamese people which is continuously reaffirmed by the leading forces of the Federal Republic, is not only an expression of the conformity of imperialist interests. It also expresses Bonn's absolute readiness to further this aggression by all conceivable means, disregarding world public opinion as well as the interests of the peace-loving population of the Federal Republic. The leading personalities in Bonn vie with one another in demonstrative declarations of sympathy for the US war. Federal Chancellor Kiesinger and the chairman of the parliamentary group of the CDU/CSU in the Bundestag, Barzel, have "full understanding" for the aggressors. According to former Bundestag President

Gerstenmaier (CDU), who had to resign because of his corrupt practices, the Americans deserve "not reproach but admiration and gratitude", and the present Federal President and former builder of concentration camps Lübke wished the Americans "success" and expressed the hope that "they may soon have the privilege of devoting themselves exclusively to their great work of peace for the benefit of all peoples".

The press organs of the West German monopolies, especially those of the Springer trust, celebrate the murder campaign of the American air pirates against the Vietnamese people in the style of Nazi war correspondents. Thus the Springer paper *Die Welt* incited on 25 April, 1967: "For the time being the only way to force an end to the war in Vietnam seems to be escalation." Similar arguments were heard from Goebbels when he proclaimed the total war in 1943.

Already on 6 August, 1964, the *Bonner Rundschau* wrote: "The Americans defoliate the jungle with chemicals. They make air-raids and operate with the toughest means of... guerilla warfare, with the scorched earth and murdering shock troops. As cruel as it may sound—the only chance lies in this policy." And *Die Welt* recommended on 11 August, 1965, that, if the US Secretary of Defence wanted to win in Vietnam, he would have to stick to panzer General Guderian's vulgar rule of the fist: "Don't dribble, hit 'em!"

Die Welt demanded on 4 April, 1968 that the Federal Republic "stand sympathetically at the Americans' side" and support the aggressors in Vietnam with advice, understanding and efforts of its own. The stopping of the American air attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam forced by the heroic struggle of the Vietname people was received by the Springer press with unconcealed disappointment.

Financial Aid for the Saigon Regime

For years the Saigon regime has been receiving extensive financial aid of various kinds from West Germany which primarily serves military purposes. On 19 August, 1967, the organ of the big West German industrialists, the Düsseldorf *Industriekurier*, characterized the Federal Republic as "South Vietnam's greatest provider after the USA". By the middle of 1968 the grants to the Saigon regime had reached the sum of about 800 million marks. The sums concerned, however, are mostly ingeniously camouflaged, if shown at all, so that it is not easy to ascertain an approximate total.

For the practical implementation of the "aid measures", decided on by the Bonn cabinet in December 1965 and January 1966, the West German special Ambassador Schmidt-Horix in March 1966 in Saigon agreed upon extensive supplies of war material by the West German Government for the South Vietnamese regime as well as on the employment of a hospital ship. Former SS Untersturmführer and Nazi diplomat Schmidt-Horix on this occasion promised additional deliveries of equipment for war important industrial enterprises as well as three ships and the further dispatch of "experts". As *Die Welt* stated on 22 April, 1966, the Federal Government financed special deliveries to South Vietnam to the tune of a further 17.5 million.

In addition the Bonn Government granted extensive loans and extra payments which especially serve to strengthen the armament and economic basis of the Saigon regime and to finance specific military measures.

Within the framework of the medium-term financial planning 30 million marks annually are envisaged for the Saigon regime up to 1971.

Foreign Exchange Adjustment as Cover for Joint Financing the American War Crimes

Since a limit is set to the direct support by Bonn for the US war in consideration of the West German and international public, a way out was found with the so-called foreign exchange adjustment by which Bonn helps to finance the war against the Vietnamese people to a much greater extent, so to say, as an alternative to a direct military engagement. Declared as an advance payment for later purchases of arms in the USA and as foreign exchange adjustment for the US occupation forces stationed in West Germany the USA received loans totalling 10.6 thousand million marks up to the end of 1967.

With these enormous sums Bonn relieves the US balance of payments which shows a strong deficit, particularly because of the war in Vietnam. In the final analysis it is a question of West German war loans which enable the US Government to continue putting gigantic sums into the war industry and to carry on with the war against the Vietnamese people. Bonn's joint guilt in the continuation of the war in Vietnam, which costs the USA more than 30 thousand million dollars a year, is obvious.

Already in December 1965 former Federal Chancellor Erhard gave, on the occasion of his visit to the USA, the "basic promise . . . that the 'foreign exchange aid' amounting to 5.2 thousand million marks will be kept in spite of Bonn's financial difficulties." (*Deutsche National-Zeitung und Soldatenzeitung*, Munich, 14 January, 1966)

This sum had been fixed, according to the same source, on 11 May, 1964, by the then US Secretary of Defence McNamara and the then Bonn Minister of Defence, von Hassel. This sum was declared to be an advance payment for later arms purchases. Payment was to be made by the middle of 1967. In addition the Bonn Government paid, already in 1964 and 1965, 5.4 thousand million marks as an advance for later arms purchases.

During his visit to the USA in September 1966 Erhard again promised to assist the American Government in financing the aggression. He gave assurances that "the Federal Republic will do its best to meet the current foreign exchange adjustment". (AFP on 25 September, 1966)

Former US President Johnson, on his part, praised the Federal Republic's "active support" of the war in Vietnam and promised that West Germany was to be "more closely included in the planning for nuclear defence" (loc. cit.). The Kiesinger Government fulfilled the promises given by the Erhard Government. It paid the USA the thousands of millions demanded and promised further financial support.

Concrete arrangements were made by the state secretary in the Bonn Foreign Ministry, the former Nazi diplomat Duckwitz, at the end of February 1968 in Washington. Just before this, former US Undersecretary of State Rostow and former US Undersecretary of the Treasury Deming had been given firm promises in negotiations with Kiesinger, Minister of Economics Schiller and State Secretary Lahr in Bonn. The talks centered on the USA's demand for support of the war in Vietnam by the payment of 3 to 3.5 thousand million marks as "foreign exchange adjustment" for the stationing costs of the US occupation forces in West Germany. The purchase of 88 "Phantom" jet fighter planes valued at over two thousand million marks for the West German air force likewise corresponds to the American desires for a relief of its balance of payments by the purchase of arms in the USA.

In addition up to the end of March 1968 the Bundesbank (Federal Bank) bought American Government bonds amounting to 1.5 thousand million marks to relieve the US currency shaken by the policy of escalation. At the same time Bonn assured the

Johnson Government that it would not change its dollar holdings of more than 8 thousand million marks (end of 1967) into gold, in order to strengthen the dollar as the leading capitalist currency.

Business with the War in Vietnam— Business with Death

West German trusts earn millions from the arms and ammunition which are daily employed against the Vietnamese people, millions from the victims of the US aggression. They do not even shrink from supplying chemical weapons which serve to destroy the foundations of the life of these people.

West German firms have for years directly and indirectly participated in the production and supply of poison gases and poisons which are used by the USA against the Vietnamese people in violation of the most elementary principles of international law. Mostly concerned are the three successor trusts of IG-Farben which produced the gas for Hitler's concentration camps until 1945 and made millions in profits from the murder of millions of people and which now want to "test" their newest products on Vietnamese women and children.

The Belgian paper *La Drapeau Rouge* reported on 24 July, 1965, that the Farbenfabrik Bayer AG, Leverkusen, sold numerous patents to American trusts for the production of chemical warfare agents which had been left over from the Second World War. Through its US branch, the Chemagro Corporation in Kansas City, Missouri, it also directly supplies poisonous agents for the US Chemical Corps in South Vietnam. Further, the Badische Anilin- und Soda-Fabrik AG (BASF), in Ludwigshafen, through its three affiliated companies in the USA is involved in the profitable business with "Vietnam gases"; so is the Farbwerke Hoechst AG, Frankfurt-on-Main, likewise through two American branches as well as through Spanish firms.

Informative details on the cooperation of American and West German military leaders and industrial firms in the field of the production of chemical warfare agents and their employment were reported in the London monthly *Eastern World* in its July 1966 edition. The Americans "have shown great interest in the new and most effective poison gases which are being developed in West German laboratories on the basis of the gas produced by IG-Farben at the time of the Second World War. Thus, an agreement was reached to send several experts from the Farbenwerke Hoechst

AG to the USA and to let the USA have the necessary technical documents and data for the production of lethal gases of the Zyklon B type which the Nazis had used to a great extent in their death camps during the last war and which the Americans have already begun to use in South Vietnam for no less cruel purposes."

When it became known that the USA is employing poison gases in Vietnam, the Springer paper *Die Welt* cynically wrote on 31 May, 1965: "The general outcry against the employment of gas in Vietnam is one of the oddest examples of the fact that emotions are stronger than reason, for gas is among the most humane weapons that have ever been employed in a war."

The American aggression in Vietnam became also for the West German armament industry a profitable business.

The Düsseldorf Rheinmetall GmbH, a plant of the Röchling trust supplied, according to American statements, machine guns valued at 74 million dollars (296 million marks), 20-mm automatic guns valued at 27 million dollars (108 million marks), 44.2 million dollars (177 million marks) worth of ammunition and "technical" equipment to the extent of 1.5 million dollars (6 million marks).

An international sensation was caused by the transactions with high-explosive bombs of the firm of Kraus und Steinhausen in Grauenort which likewise came into being with the approval by the Bonn Government. In May 1966 the West German Government promised the USA further supplies of weapons and ammunition valued at about 300 million marks for employment against Vietnam. In the meantime West Germany's arms deliveries for the USA's criminal war in Vietnam have further increased.

West Germans in Action in Vietnam

The demands of the US Government on their allies for personnel for the war in South Vietnam found an open ear with the Erhard Government: "The Federal Government attaches high political importance to a careful and exhaustive investigation into the question of 'Aid for Vietnam'... In view of the considerable material efforts of America any merely material aid is of relatively small significance. Employment of personnel, on the other hand, is, especially, in the eyes of our American allies, of great value." (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 28 January, 1966)

The West German Government attaches special significance to the employment of construction troops as a form of camouflaged

military participation. According to the model of the fascist "Organization Todt" they are to build war important objects such as runways, bridges, air fields and port installations for the American aggressors. As the Bonn *RF-World-News* of 8 February, 1966, stated, there were already at the beginning of 1966, about 2,500 West German "technicians" in South Vietnam, among them many specialists from the ranks of the Bundeswehr.

In the "Aid Program for South Vietnam", decided on by the then Bonn Government on 12 January, 1966, further "personnel aid measures" were fixed. The first decision was to dispatch the hospital ship "Helgoland" to South Vietnam. It is characteristic that this ship had been fitted out for combat before being put into operation. (Cost of running the ship 8 to 11 million marks a year). The "Helgoland" was placed under the command of the Bonn military attaché in Saigon, the former Hitler officer, Lieutenant Colonel Joachim Tzschaschel, who was decorated by the Saigon regime at the end of September 1966 with a "Cross of Honour, First Class" for his "services in cooperation with the Vietnamese armed forces". In addition there was a group of West German chemists and bacteriologists attached to the US Office of Chemical and Bacteriological Planning in Saigon who were officially members of the crew of the hospital ship "Helgoland".

The direct employment of West German soldiers in the US aggression in Vietnam had long been demanded by leading American and West German military men and politicians.

A study of the Leadership Academy of the Bundeswehr, compiled in the summer of 1964, gives revealing details on the conceptions of leading forces of the West German Bundeswehr on the military solution of the US aggression in Vietnam and the role the Bundeswehr is to play. It says: "If the USA does not want to lose face in Southeast Asia then we must go over to action in the near future, which will create clear relations and which will erect a dam against the Communist influence increasingly spreading also in this part of the world.

"The participation of a contingent of the Bundeswehr would prove the loyalty of the Federal Republic to the alliance. Since the Pentagon can no longer do with half measures, victory is certain and—what is decisive—the Bundeswehr would share in this victory! . . .

"Of special pedagogical significance would at the same time be the fact that for the first time German and American units would stand side by side in armed combat. The young Bundeswehr needs a visible success." (*Neues Deutschland* (B), Berlin, 19 March, 1966)

The dispatch of Bundeswehr troops to Vietnam was discussed at a cabinet meeting in Bonn in December 1965. The then Chancellor Erhard declared to his ministers: "Visible participation in South Vietnam means a multiple moral, political and material support to the Americans." (*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, No. 4/17, January, 1966)

According to the same source the then Bonn Foreign Minister and present War Minister Schröder advocated "sending German soldiers to the theatre of operations in the Far East". The present Bonn Minister of Finance and CSU chairman Strauss had earlier declared several times that it could be "militarily useful to send officers from the Federal Republic to South Vietnam for training in guerilla warfare". (*Industrie-Kurier*, Düsseldorf, 17 November, 1964)

Since the official sending of a contingent of the Bundeswehr to the theatre of operations in South Vietnam would definitely meet with protests both on an international level and among the West German population itself, the Bonn Government found other ways of militarily supporting the US aggression in addition to sending "technical personnel".

Equipped with American passports and uniforms West German citizens participated in the aggression by the USA against the Vietnamese people, all this being tolerated and promoted by the Bonn Government. Those involved are both direct members of the Bundeswehr and West German citizens who were drafted in the USA, with the tacit blessing of the Bonn Government, and sent to South Vietnam.

The engagement of West German pilots could be proved already in the autumn of 1964 and the employment of infantrymen already in the summer of 1965.

In autumn 1964, 120 members of the Luftwaffe were sent to Vietnam, in June 1965 soldiers of the Bundeswehr were again sent to Vietnam. These facts became known on 3 September, 1965, from reports of the American news agency AP and the Düsseldorf weekly *Bauernruf*. Meanwhile this number will have multiplied. The Bonn government has several times denied the military employment of West German citizens. But on 2 August, 1966, the West German news agency DPA reported the following admission: "The headquarters of the American armed forces in Saigon confirms, in reply to an inquiry, that a number, even though small, of German citizens is employed in the American units in South Vietnam."

On the basis of a communication by the US Department of Defence on the number of foreigners with the American armed forces the Bielefeld *Freie Presse* calculated a "number of about

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2,000 German citizens in Vietnam. That, after all, represents troops of regiment strength." (*Freie Presse*, Bielefeld, 8 September, 1966)

This camouflaged use of West German pilots and soldiers is regulated by a secret agreement between Bonn and Washington the existence of which was pointed out by the India Press Agency in April 1966. The agency in addition reported on a confidential circular issued by the then West German War Minister von Hassel. According to this circular West German pilots are permitted to sign contracts with the US Air Force to serve in Vietnam for a period of six to twelve months. The contract can either be extended or service in the Bundeswehr renewed. In case a pilot is wounded or killed the West German state pays compensation.

The camouflaged employment of West German citizens as soldiers and pilots with the US aggression army in South Vietnam became known to the German public particularly from death notices:

On 25 June, 1966, the West German Franz Xaver Wallner, who had been killed in Vietnam, was buried in the cemetery of his home town of Vilsbiburg/Bavaria.

On 15 July, 1966, Franz Gerhard Prediger was buried in Mannheim—he was killed in South Vietnam, aged 27. The relatives expressly confirmed that Prediger was a West German citizen even during his service in Vietnam.

These are some of the facts on the disastrous alliance of West German and US imperialism in the Vietnam aggression which have leaked out to the public. All Bonn Governments have so far made themselves—against the will and at the expense of the West German population—guilty of complicity in the crimes against the Vietnamese people. Next to the USA Bonn is thus the only NATO power which engages itself unconditionally in this momentous conflict in Southeast Asia.

The Solidarity of the German Democratic Republic with Fighting Vietnam

A letter from Walter Ulbricht to Ho chi Minh, published by *Neues Deutschland* on 8 February, 1966, reads:

"The Council of State, Government and people of the German Democratic Republic, faithful to proletarian internationalism as in the past," will give "the fraternal Vietnamese people every possible support and aid in future, too".

The people of the GDR have been supporting the patriots of Vietnam to an ever increasing degree for two decades. This moral and material assistance has long assumed the character of a people's movement.

Up to now more than 100 million marks have been contributed by the people of the GDR for the fighting Vietnamese people, by workers, farmers, scientists, artists, craftsmen, partners in semi-state enterprises and many others. The youth have also participated in this in an outstanding way. Millions of GDR citizens took part in their great solidarity action "A Shipload for Vietnam" and the movement "Current for Vietnam" organized by GDR writers. Electric aggregates for the decentralized enterprises, auxiliary material for agriculture, bicycles, lorries, sewing machines and many medicaments, medical-technical implements and instruments as well as large quantities of blood plasma purchased from the contributions of the GDR population were handed over to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Many GDR artists perform without fee at events whose takings are deposited to the Vietnam account. Children contribute their earnings from the collection of bottles and discarded material. Sports associations make contributions from the gate money of sports events. Young railwaymen of the Dresden railway administration presented the DRV with a steel construction car for the repair of destroyed rail lines and railway bridges which they had produced in their spare time and out of reserves. Aid for the heroically fighting Vietnamese people has become very close to the heart of every GDR citizen.

The first two Vietnam special stamps offered for sale to the public have up to now brought in a solidarity contribution of 700,000 marks. Further issues of such special stamps will also be made available in future.

After the forced unconditional stopping of the bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam the Vietnam commission of the GDR appealed for increased solidarity under the slogan „Vietnam needs our hearts and hands". This gave rise to new and varied initiatives for still further increasing the effectiveness of the aid for Vietnam.

The friendly contacts between the peoples of the GDR and Vietnam were deepened by the taking up of state relations 18 years ago. After the withdrawal of the French interventionists following their decisive defeat at Dien Bien Phu the GDR together with other Socialist countries effectively helped the DRV to overcome its war damage and in its Socialist industrialization. The GDR supplied machines and equipment, gave aid in the construction of the

health service and public education, sent specialists, trained Vietnamese cadres, and also assisted in many other ways.

The extension of the US air terror to North Vietnam in 1964–65 was answered by the Government and people of the GDR with an intensification of their moral and material assistance. It reached a higher stage when in June 1965 the "Vietnam Commission of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the GDR" was formed in Berlin. In autumn 1965 Max Sefrin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR signed a long-term agreement on still closer cooperation in the health service. At the end of 1965 negotiations were conducted in Berlin between Government delegations of the GDR and DRV where an agreement on further GDR aid and a new trade agreement for 1966 were signed. As a result the mutual exchange of goods almost doubled in comparison with the previous year. Dr. Günther Mittag, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the SED reported about the GDR's contribution to the realization of the Bucharest decisions at the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee of the SED in September 1966:

"Like all other Warsaw Treaty participating countries the GDR also considerably expanded its aid agreement with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the course of 1966. The GDR rendered great economic and other aid . . . The People's Chamber and Council of Ministers of the GDR are fulfilling their duty by giving active support to the fraternal Vietnamese people in the construction and defence of their country and by conducting the political struggle against the US invaders and the war aid of the Bonn state with still greater spirit".

A few weeks later, in October 1966, further government agreements between the GDR and the DRV were concluded. In accordance with these agreements the GDR granted economic aid and a long-term credit for the delivery of goods and services in the period 1967 to 1970. In addition hundreds of young Vietnamese are studying in the GDR, and far more than 2,500 Vietnamese are receiving further training in GDR enterprises.

On 23 June, 1968 the chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the two countries agreed in Berlin on further material aid for the DRV in the form of goods deliveries for 1969, including deliveries of goods for 30 million marks financed out of contributions by the people of the GDR, the reciprocal exchange of goods in 1969 and supplementary deliveries of the GDR to the DRV in 1968, the granting of a long-term loan by the GDR to the DRV.

After the unconditional halting of the American bombing of the

territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED and Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, expressed in a declaration of the Council of State, the Council of Ministers and the people of the GDR on 5 November, 1968, the fact that the German Democratic Republic will in solidarity further stand fraternally at the side of the Vietnamese people and support their just struggle to the best of its ability.

The declaration states:

"With a feeling of fraternal solidarity for the Vietnamese people and with great satisfaction the Council of State, the Council of Ministers and the people of the German Democratic Republic have received the news that the bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the shelling of the country from the sea and land by the US aggressors had to be stopped unconditionally from 1 November, 1968. The GDR considers this a significant succes of the heroic struggle which the entire Vietnamese people have waged so steadfastly and self-sacrificingly for their freedom and independence with the active help of the Socialist countries, especially of the Soviet Union, and with the support in solidarity of all peace-loving peoples for nearly four years. The renunciation of any action against the sovereignty and security of the DRV, the end of the blood-shed in South Vietnam and the complete withdrawal of the US aggression troops and their satellites must now follow the halt to the bombing of the DRV, the Socialist Vietnamese state.

"The Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the GDR give their full support to the demands of the DRV and the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam directed at this goal and their striving for a political settlement of the Vietnam problem in accord with the Geneva Agreement of 1954 . . .

"In the spirit of proletarian internationalism the Council of State, the Council of Ministers and the people of the German Democratic Republic will continue to stand fraternally at the side of the Vietnamese people and in solidarity, and support their just struggle to the best of their ability."

DRV Prime Minister Pham van Dong assessed the support of the Government and people of the GDR as "a valuable aid . . . in strengthening the national defence and economic power of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the struggle against the American aggressors and a further contribution to deepening the fraternal collaboration between the two countries". (*Neues Deutschland*, 13 November, 1966)

III. The Middle East Crisis and the Two German States

West Germany Supports Aggressor Israel

Within the framework of the US global strategy the Israeli state has been systematically expanded into an economic, political and military base of imperialism in the Middle East in the course of the past two decades.

Developments in the Near and Middle East are of great importance for the entire relation of forces between imperialism and Socialism. As the meeting point of three continents—Europe, Africa and Asia—the Near and Middle East have a great military-strategic importance. This area contains about two thirds of the world's oil reserves, the exploitation of which brings thousands of millions in profits to the imperialist monopolies. The extraction and processing of the petroleum in the Near and Middle East are exclusively in the hands of American and British capital. Some 86 per cent of West Germany's fuel requirements are met by Arab oil. The aggressive US armed forces in Vietnam procure more than half of their fuel from the oil refineries of the Middle East which is looked upon by the main imperialist powers as an important and favourable deployment basis for aggressions against the Socialist camp. In past years imperialist positions in the Near and Middle East have been increasingly weakened by the development of the Arab national revolutionary liberation movement and the strengthening of the anti-imperialist struggle of progressive Arab states. In accordance with the conception of the imperialist global strategy of the USA the long-prepared aggression of "deputy" Israel was to change the relation of forces again in favour of imperialism. Israel's military attack, which took place with the active support and backing of US imperialism, was to destroy the progressive regimes in the UAR and Syria, and further safeguard without limitation the exploitation of the natural resources and the human reserves in the Near and Middle East, ensure the uninterrupted supply to NATO troops in Europe with fuel for a planned aggression by dominating the Arab oil deposits and bringing the Suez Canal under the control of the imperialist powers.

The Aggression as a Model for West German Militarism

Based on the fact that the USA and West Germany officially and behind the scenes contributed in every way possible to the economic and military expansion of Israel in the past two decades the Israeli aggression could become a model for a surprise attack of imperialist military strategy.

The Israeli agression was important as a model to the West German military because it was more than just a new edition of the fascist blitzkrieg strategy. The technical military organization of this surprise attack had been prepared in detail over a long period, by systematic purposeful training of the Israeli army and the inclusion of the entire civilian population as well as the entire economic life of Israel.

On the other hand modern weapons, newly developed since the Second World War, with the exception of nuclear weapons, and with a highly technical army led in accordance with modern military leadership methods was put into practical operation and tested under battle conditions.

Also after the suspension of activities, the testing of the military-strategic conceptions of the NATO and Bundeswehr leadership were continued in the Middle East. The systematically repeated and intensified aggressive actions of Israel towards the Arab states are the practical execution of the escalation variants in the so-called limited war.

Bonn War Minister Schröder pointed out the special forms of such a war before the Bundestag on 6 December, 1967:

"A limited war can extend in form from local battle actions to limited attacks of heavier forces up to a comprehensive conventional attack." (*Deutscher Bundestag*, 140th Session, Bonn, 6 December, 1967, p. 7136)

A dangerous climax of this mounting military aggression was reached in October 1967 when the Israeli destroyer "Eilath" was sent into UAR territorial waters where it was sunk by the Egyptian defence forces with rockets. The danger of the Israeli provocation becomes clear to its full extent only when one sees it in connection with the previous repeated attacks on Arab settlements, which, so to say, represented test battles for these larger actions. When the destroyer "Eilath" was sunk in UAR territorial waters the Israelis in the first place lamented the loss of prestige which their war

leadership had suffered. Their absolute military technical superiority which they had placed on show in the "blitzkrieg" had suddenly become relative.

The Political Justification for the Israeli Expansionist Policy

Whereas the USA defended the interests of its helper Israel before the United Nations, the Bonn Government sought by means of a demonstrative strengthening of political contacts with Israel to counter the political isolation of the aggressors on the international level and justify its policy of annexation. The unusually lively official and semi-official trips from West Germany to Israel immediately after the 1967 aggression served this aim.

A delegation of leading politicians of the Federal Republic under the leadership of the president of the West German Association of Towns, Frankfurt Mayor Brundert, and a leading representative of the Federal Bank at the same time saw for themselves the "successes" of Israeli policy. A delegation of the West German-Israeli Chamber of Commerce under the leadership of its President Hesselbach also travelled in autumn 1967 to Israel to examine how West German industry could be more intensively engaged in Israel.

The Social Democratic leaders, too, underlined their partisanship for Israel. Presidium member Alfred Nau represented West German Social Democracy at the unification congress of the Israeli Mapai, Ahdut, Avoda and Rafi parties in Jerusalem in January 1968. But it is just from representatives of these parties, such as Moshe Dayan and Ben Gurion, that the extreme chauvinistic slogans come concerning the annexation of Arab territories and the formation of a Zionist Greater Israel. Supported by the imperialist forces they seek to further sharpen the situation in the Middle East.

The support of the Israeli policy of expansion and annexation by the West German Government was most conspicuously expressed in the "Jerusalem question". In July 1967 the present Minister of Internal Affairs and earlier CDU state secretary Ernst Benda had, in his capacity as president of the West German-Israeli Society, handed the Israeli ambassador in Bonn a contribution of 1.3 thousand million marks destined for the construction of the occupied part of Jerusalem. Thereby, not only the West German-Israeli Society expressed its solidarity with the annexationist

claims of Israel but at the same time the Bonn Government, too, and it gave its de facto recognition to this result of aggression.

To understand this one need only recall the tasks of the society as they were outlined at its foundation in 1966 by West Berlin Senator and Social Democratic deputy Adolf Arndt. He described the German-Israeli Society "as a foreign policy association which was not to conduct foreign policy on its own, but rather create the political prerequisites". (*Vorwärts*, Bonn, 25 May, 1966)

The visit of ex-Chancellor Erhard to the occupied part of Jerusalem at the beginning of November 1967 was the consistent continuation of this political line. Erhard himself emphasized that it was not a question of the political line of a private individual but of the political line of the Bonn Government, whereby he denied reports that the Federal Government had asked him not to visit Jerusalem. On the contrary, he stated "that he made a point of carrying out his trip in agreement with the Federal Government and that was absolutely certain". (*Die Welt*, West Berlin, 30 October, 1967)

Support of the Israeli annexation became still clearer when West Berlin Mayor Schütz declared in the city of Jerusalem during his trip to Israel in June 1968: "As mayor of a divided city I have a special interest in the reunited undivided Jerusalem . . ." (*Aussenpolitische Korrespondenz*, Berlin, 17 June, 1968) Schütz thereby at the same time played on Bonn's parallel plans in Berlin.

This attitude can only be described as the Bonn Government's complete agreement with the illegally completed annexation of the city of Jerusalem by the Israeli Government. Up to now only the West German Government has demonstrated its unreserved recognition of the Israeli annexationist aims in this unconcealed form. In this sense Erhard formulated his speech in Israel in November 1967 as follows: "In accord with the will of the (West) German people", he stated, "the politically responsible forces in Bonn would continue to promote the welfare of Israel." (*Echo der Zeit*, Recklinghausen, 12 November, 1967)

The criminal attack of the Israeli militarists on the airport in Beirut at the end of December 1968 was unanimously condemned by the democratic world public. But the Government in Bonn this time, too, placed itself on the side of the aggressor. Deputy Government spokesman Conrad Ahlers called Israel's mode of operating "understandable"; Bonn only "regretted" the "excessiveness" of the Israeli act.

The press of the West German Springer trust celebrated the brutal attack:

"Israel has again delivered a hard blow... It was an attack which, in the view of observers of general staff planners, could not have been worked out better." (*Die Welt*, 30 December, 1968)

The Economic Community of Interest of West German Monopoly Capital with Israel

After the attack a situation was created in Israel by means of wage freeze and liberalization measures which offered favourable investment conditions for foreign capital. Thus a new international capital offensive for Israel was introduced in which West German capital also participated. At the same time the prerequisites for the further economic-military expansion of Israel as a bridgehead of imperialism in the Middle East were brought into being with this economic policy.

It became known in July 1967 that the West German Government was ready to extend the 1966 credit agreement by an additional 160 million marks for 1967. In September 1967 further capital amounting to 50 million dollars was provided as a subscription to a loan brought out by Israel.

The greatest part of the capital is destined for infra-structure projects and to open up the Arab areas occupied during the aggression. But according to data by present Minister of War Moshe Dayan the most important investments were made in the second half of 1967 in the Israeli arms industry. This branch of industry has been so expanded that the requirements for light weapons and ammunition can now be met in the country itself. The productivity of this branch of industry even permitted Israel to export weapons valued at more than 53 million marks. Such a development makes it appear certain that the West German credits to Israel were employed for the expansion of the armament industry. It is in this sense that the so-called study visit of a delegation of West German bankers and military specialists to Israel in November 1967 should be understood.

The West German-Israeli community of interests manifests itself still more clearly in the Israeli oil project. In order to ensure the supply of oil in future "crises" Israel was given responsibility for the immediate execution of the project for an oil pipeline between the Read Sea and the Mediterranean. According to press reports "West European financial circles" take part in the financial realization of this 400-million-mark project. The more than 260-kilometre-long pipeline is to pump annually 60 millions tons of oil through

its 42-inch pipes. An industrial consortium of the West German Thyssen and Mannesmann groups takes over the delivery of 70,000 tons of sheet steel necessary for the production of the pipes. The pro-ton tariff on oil pumped will in any case be lower than that of the Suez Canal, announced the director of this "Trans-Asiatic Pipeline Company". The enlargement of Israeli ports permits the serving of giant tankers up to 500,000 tons.

These measures represent a further attempt to coerce the UAR economically. "The Suez Canal has been paralyzed for ten months", wrote *Die Welt* on 18 April, 1968. "The Israeli pipeline projects can be more destructive of the work of Ferdinand Lesseps than the tanks and guns of the six-day war of June 1967." (H. Scheve: *Eine Ölader durch die Negev-Wüste*–An Oil Artery through the Negev Desert, *Die Welt*, West Berlin, 18 April, 1968)

The extensive support of leading West German circles for the aggressive Israeli policy proves that Bonn is one of the main pillars of imperialist expansionist policy in the Middle East and that the so-called neutrality of the West German Federal Republic is only a propaganda manoeuvre. There is a direct line from the "reparations" agreement of 1952, which was fulfilled with the presentation of weapons of all kinds valued at 3.45 thousand million marks to Israel, to the political justification and the economic safeguarding of Israeli annexations after the 1967 aggression. The imperialist striving of both partners to hold up the progress of the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples in every way possible, including military aggression, is documented in this community of interests. The danger arising out of this partnership in the Near and Middle East holds a constant threat to the security of the Arab peoples and to world peace.

The German Democratic Republic Is at the Side of the Arab Peoples

The countries of the Socialist camp, among them the GDR, have always proved to be faithful and reliable friends of the Arab peoples. This was shown both in the days of the Suez aggression of 1956 and the 1967 Israeli aggression.

While the weapons were still silent the GDR did everything possible to condemn Israeli war preparations before the bar of world public opinion, to expose the role assigned to Israel against the Arab countries by world imperialism and to inform the world about

the plot of international monopoly capital with the Israeli big bourgeoisie.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the GDR declared on 23 May, 1967:

"The imperialist policy of aggravating tensions in the Middle East has led to a threatening situation for peace in this area. In their desperate efforts to maintain their neo-colonialist influence, undermine the national independence of the Arab peoples, hold up social progress in the Arab countries and safeguard the exploitation of the oil wealth, imperialism and reaction are resorting to serious military provocations. Through Israeli troop concentrations on the frontier of the Syrian Arab Republic and also aggressive acts against other Arab countries tensions are being dangerously sharpened. This again shows the role of Israel as a military base of imperialism against the Arab peoples and states. The German Democratic Republic most sharply condemns the imperialist machinations against the Arab states."

In conclusion it states:

"The Government of the GDR, together with all peace-loving anti-imperialist forces, will work to see that peace is defended and guaranteed in the Middle East."

From the beginning of the open aggression the GDR—as also in the precedings days—left no doubt about its attitude. The Council of Ministers of the GDR declared on 7 June, 1967:

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic, which consistently works for the maintenance and consolidation of peace, most severely condemns the Israeli aggression which contains the danger of expanding the military conflict. It expressly demands the immediate stopping of Israel's aggressive actions and the withdrawal of Israeli troops to their positions before the beginning of the aggression. It demands the immediate ending of the direct and indirect support for Israel by the imperialist states, especially the USA and the West German Federal Republic, and the immediate withdrawal of the US Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean . . .

"The Government of the GDR confirms its full solidarity with the UAR, the SAR, Iraq, Algeria and the other Arab states which are defending their national liberty, sovereignty and dignity. It will do everything in its power to contribute to ending the aggression and to the re-establishment of peace. The Government of the GDR declares its readiness to grant support and aid to the Arab states and peoples.

"The Government and people of the GDR will in future, too, give lasting support to the struggle of the Arab countries for the defence

of their sovereignty, territorial integrity and their liberty, against the Israeli aggression and its imperialist backers."

"Our friendship with the United Arab Republic and with the other Arab peoples is no fair-weather friendship. We maintain our friendship in good and also in bad days", declared Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, on 15 June, 1967.

These words were confirmed by a large solidarity movement embracing the entire population of the GDR. A few days before, the National Executive of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions had made available to the trade unions of the UAR a solidarity contribution of a million marks.

The German-Arab Society in the GDR opened up account No. 66 414 in the post office savings department into which individual citizens, groups, enterprises and organizations payed their solidarity donations. From this account medicaments, blood plasma, penicillin, clothing, tents, blankets and food were bought and transported by a number of Interflug aircraft to Cairo, Damascus, Bagdad and Amman. In addition to these contributions from the population and social organizations there were extensive aid shipments made available by the Government of the GDR to the affected Arab countries.

In a message of greetings to the extraordinary conference of the Organization for Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity on 2 July, 1967 Walter Ulbricht repeated the readiness of the GDR to do everything in its power

"to help the Arab peoples to overcome the consequences of the aggression".

Dr. Gerhard Weiss, as special ambassador of the chairman of the Council of State and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, visited the United Arab Republic and the Syrian Arab Republic in July 1967. The aim of Dr. Weiss' trip was to get basic information on the situation which had arisen in the Middle East as a result of the Israeli aggression and to consult on measures for eliminating the consequences of the aggression.

During a visit to the UAR, GDR Foreign Minister Otto Winzer stated at a press conference in Cairo on 23 February, 1968, that the traditional German-Arab friendship which had found its home in the GDR had once again passed its test in the past weeks and months.

"The people and Government decisively protested against the cowardly attack of imperialism and immediately granted all possible moral and material aid to the attacked Arab countries."

The Government of the GDR supports the efforts of Arab coun-

tries to solve the crisis in the Middle East in a peaceful way in accord with the resolution of the UN Security Council of 22 November, 1967. It decisively condemned the brutal attack of the Israeli militarists on the Beirut civil airport. Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the GDR Council of State, sent a telegram to President Charles Helou of the Republic of Lebanon in connection with the Israeli act of aggression, which stated:

"The Council of State, the Government and people of the German Democratic Republic most sharply condemn this new Israeli act of piracy. I assure your Excellency, of the sincere solidarity of the German Democratic Republic with the Lebanese people and with all other Arab peoples."

GDR Foreign Minister Otto Winzer demanded in a telegram to the president of the UN Security Council, that the Security Council impose sanctions against the aggressor and introduce measures to prevent new Israeli acts of aggression.

In a talk on the occasion of the New Year greetings of the Diplomatic Corps on 3 January, 1969, in Berlin, Walter Ulbricht confirmed the firm solidarity of the German Democratic Republic with the Arab countries which is based on the joint aims of the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for the safeguarding of peace and social progress. The chairman of the GDR Council of State declared:

"We further support the efforts of the UAR and other Arab countries in eliminating the causes which have led to the present peace-endangering situation in the Near East. By Israel's refusal to fulfil the resolution of the United Nations Security Council of 22 November, 1967, and withdraw from the occupied Arab territories, a centre of dangerous tension remains. We oppose all Israeli attempts to annex Arab territory in violation of UN decisions . . ."

IV. Racism and Colonialism in Africa and the Two German States

West Germany
Forges the Bonn-Pretoria Axis

The southern part of Africa is gaining in importance in the imperialist global strategy primarily because today it is in its character and extent the world's largest imperialist colonial empire. As its political, economic and military centre is the state of the South African racists, including the illegally occupied territory of South West Africa, and also includes the Rhodesian coup d'état regime as well as the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, the formally politically independent states of Lesotho, Botswana and Malawi are running the danger of falling victim to South African imperialism. The imperialist exploitation and oppressive regime in Southern Africa offers, with its militarist and political mechanism of suppression, the internal prerequisites which world imperialism needs for the economic exploitation and the realization of its neo-colonialist interests towards the independent African countries.

We read in a book which appeared in West Germany in 1965:

"In case of war the West could find backing only in the south of the continent, and only there would it have air bases and ports available . . . A deliberate policy by Great Britain and the United States could still stabilize the situation in Africa for at least a decade on the basis of the Zambesi line which would separate the northern part of the continent ruled by the blacks from the south ruled by the whites. But in this South Africa would assume a key position." (*Afrika und seine Probleme*–Africa and Its Problems, Stuttgart, 1965, p. 153)

The leading nazi ideologist and fascist West German race theorist Wahrhold Drascher sees in his book *Die Schuld der Weissen* (The Blame of the Whites) the role of South Africa as "an important bulwark against the attempt of Communism to make use of the coloured people for its purposes. The West cannot afford to renounce the aid of these white folk groups attached to the soil (meaning the Boer racists)." (Wahrhold Drascher: *Die Schuld der Weissen*, Tübingen, 1960, p. 156)

A number of specific interests connect the West German imperialists with the South African racists and at the same time with the entire South African area:

Both regimes are striving for atomic weapons by getting around the international Non-proliferation Treaty and are working together on the development of nuclear weapons, carrier missiles

and also on the development of poison gases, in order at a given time to implement their aggressive policy of expansion in Africa and Europe.

Both regimes are pressing to expand on foreign territories: South Africa has illegally completely occupied South West Africa and has more than once threatened the conquest of independent African countries; West Germany is the only country in Europe which raises territorial claims and has made the re-establishment of the German Reich within the frontiers of 1937 the declared aim of its foreign policy.

Both regimes had and have persons in authoritative Government positions who themselves directly participated in working out and practising the fascist race policy of Hitler and who today still propagate and practise the imperialist policy of exploitation, oppression and racism. West German politicians like Kiesinger and Lübke have engaged themselves with the fascist Hitler regime just the same as the top leaders of the South African fascist apartheid regime, Hertzog, Malan, Verwoerd, Vorster, and others.

The Atomic Plot

The basis of this plot is now as before existing secret agreements between the two Governments concluded in July 1961 and on the basis of which West Germany and South Africa intend to acquire atomic weapons by side stepping international agreements.

The Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the GDR drew attention to the background and connections of this atomic plot in a detailed documentation which appeared in mid-1967. According to the evidence it presents West Germany had developed the means for processing South African uranium ore for atomic weapons and now regularly obtains uranium from South Africa. The West German newspaper *Die Tat* wrote after the first delivery, starting in the second half of 1967, of 1,000 tons of uranium ore became known:

"The atomic industry of the Federal Republic . . . is very actively engaged in opening up new sources of uranium, especially in South Africa. Already in 1958 the then South African Minister of Economics Dr. I. A. Roux had visited the Degussa works in Frankfurt and offered the trust uranium ore concentrate. But when the processing installations in Karlsruhe are ready for operations the uranium can be procured directly from South Africa and control by the USA avoided."

Today direct deliveries from South Africa to West Germany are

taking place and it also became known at the beginning of April 1968 that the West German firm Kloeckner and Company was beginning to establish its own raw materials basis for the development of nuclear weapons in the South African area. This West German concern has acquired the absolute majority of stock shares of the South West African Lithium Mines Ltd. and thereby ensured the exploitation of the ore necessary for nuclear and missile technology.

This again confirms the warnings of African politicians who emphasized at the international seminar on apartheid, race discrimination and colonialism in Southern Africa in June 1967,

"that the Federal Republic of Germany grants important aid to South Africa. Whereas West German scientists are forbidden to develop nuclear weapons in their own country they are developing such weapons in South Africa". (*UN Document* A/68188, p. 20)

West Germany was also accused in this connection of giving help in the development of conventional weapons and in the production of poison gas.

Comprehensive Economic Support and Cooperation

West German imperialism has invested more than 600 million marks in South Africa.

In October 1967 the granting of a new West German loan amounting to 80 million marks became known, and the South African atomic energy authority ESCOM was the recipient—an added proof of West Germany's help in South Africa's nuclear weapon production. In March 1968 an international bank consortium in which the Deutsche Bank and other West German banks were considerably involved granted South Africa a new loan of 60 million marks.

In fact, the economic interests of West German imperialism in South Africa are not less than its political and military-strategic interests.

For example, trade between West Germany and South Africa has doubled since 1962.

Rev. Canon L. John Collins, President of the International Defence and Aid Fund, declared before the UN Special Political Committee that West Germany was one of the evildoers

"which constantly support the South African economy by increas-

ing its trade with that country and increasing its investments". (A/SPC/PV. 552)

West German Social Democratic Foreign Minister Willy Brandt expressly stressed on 16 May, 1968, that in the future, too, West Germany would ignore international protests and further expand trade with the South African regime.

He emphasized in his speech on the so-called main lines of (West) German Africa policy before the heads of Mission of African countries:

"These economic relations have a long tradition. We have had no occasion to break with this tradition suddenly and unilaterally, especially since we, as an industrial state dependent on exports, must also consider the interests of our economy."

Fascist racial policy in South Africa is accordingly no reason for the West German Government to follow the international appeal to boycott the racists.

Aid and Support for the Rhodesian Coup d'Etat Regime

The coup d'état regime in Rhodesia also enjoys an extensive and all-sided aid from the West German state and the West German monopolies.

Already shortly after the establishment of the regime West German monopoly capital made use of the commencement of the international boycott to obtain new positions in the Rhodesian economy and in trade. The relatively limited trade relations between the two countries up to the time of the coup d'état have in the meantime expanded so much that today West Germany takes first place among the trade partners. The decisive upsurge in West German-Rhodesian trade took place especially after the visit of the present Minister of Finance Franz Josef Strauss in April 1966.

West Germany, so reported the Tanzanian newspaper *Sunday Nation* at the end of March 1968, is the country which most unscrupulously breaks the UN resolutions and thereby helps to stabilize the racist regime.

"The black-red-gold flag of the Federal Republic is one of those which is most regularly needed for identifying the tables on the first floor of the Meikles Hotel in Salisbury, where the sanction breakers have themselves served", the paper emphasized.

Also the diversions of the West German boycott violators are an open secret. Without hindrance Rhodesian commodities such as

meat, tobacco, asbestos, copper, iron and chrome are directed via trans-shipment ports in which the country of origin is disguised with new labels. Rhodesian meat arrives via Beira or Durban to the Canary Islands and from there is shipped to West Germany as "Argentine" products. Rhodesian tobacco is labelled as "American" in Dutch free trade ports and thereafter arrives without difficulty in West German cigarette factories. All imperialist countries make use of this practice in open defiance of the UN resolution, but West German imperialism is the most eager and inconsiderate beneficiary of an international action which was originally proclaimed to bring about the fall of the racist regime in Rhodesia.

West Germany is also the main partner for military aid. Before, during and after the coup d'état West German officers instructed the Rhodesian army on how to combat the African liberation movement effectively. They imparted their experience acquired in the struggle against partisans during the nazi period.

The Rhodesian air force also profited from such experience. More than 50 West German pilots are serving as instructors in the Rhodesian army; they shared responsibility for the employment of Rhodesian aircraft against the African liberation movement.

Finally, witnesses testified before the 24-State Special Commission of the United Nations that former "specialists" for Hitler concentration camps entered Rhodesia from West Germany. This was confirmed by Francis Nehwati, President of the Trade Union Congress of Zimbabwe before the Special Commission. According to him the West German concentration camp experts direct three concentration camps erected by the Smith regime in which people are tortured. One of these camps is underground in a former mine, another is in the vicinity of Salisbury. At present there are 20,000 political prisoners in Rhodesia.

Collaboration with the Portuguese Colonial Regime

The engagement of West German imperialism in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea is taking place in close alliance and mutual support with NATO partner Portugal. Here, too, West German imperialism is leading the way and thanks only to this aid and support Portuguese colonialism is today still in a position to be the world's greatest colonial power with respect to the area and population which it dominates in Africa.

The colonies are to be retained to serve the interests of imperialist global strategy. On this particularly Bonn and Lisbon are in agreement.

The specific community of interests between Bonn and Lisbon has led to the close alliance which has lasted for years and which was further expanded with the visit to Portugal of Federal Chancellor Kiesinger in October 1968. One supports the other.

Portugal needs weapons, ammunition and the military experience of the West German militarists as well as investments and economic aid.

West Germany needs bases, military training grounds, buyers for relatively obsolete weapons which are, however, still useful for the colonial war, raw materials sources, markets and investment outlets for expanding West German monopoly capital, as well as uranium delivieres from the Portuguese colonies. The arrangement was perfect. West Germany delivered

10,000 modern machine pistols (*Spiegel*, 6/62, p. 21), jet bombers of type F 86 and F 91 (*Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 3 September, 1966), heavy Mercedes-Benz lorries, radio communication sets, ammunition and war equipment to Portugal valued at a total of more than 200 million marks.

All this was used and is being used in operations against the African liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies.

In addition there is the military training aid which West German militarism provides for the Portuguese colonial troops at the largest West German foreign base in Beja, Portugal.

Of the 15,000 Bundeswehr soldiers and officers stationed there, 500 are used exclusively for the training of Portugal's colonial troops.

The leaders of the African liberation movement have frequently condemned this imperialist partnership.

The West German Krupp concern invested over 500 million marks in Angola for the exploitation of its iron ore. The ore port especially built for this purpose—one of the largest in the whole of Africa—makes possible an annual shipment of five million tons. In addition there are ore loading installations with an hourly capacity of 10,000 tons, modern rail networks, storage houses and a special 70-kilometre-long ore railway line. Finally, the Krupp concern has formed its own private colonial troops of white mercenaries which are to "protect" the exploitation of Angola from actions of the liberation movement.

In addition to Angola, West German trusts have also established themselves in Mozambique. Thus the Gelsenkirchener Bergwerks-

AG (GBAG) has acquired oil prospecting rights in Mozambique together with South African and French concerns. According to the agreement up to 20 million marks are to be invested in the next three years.

Thus, West Germany participates directly in the exploitation of Portuguese colonies both through trade with Portugal and also through direct investments. West Germany is one of the main neo-colonial powers which is striving for aggressive bases for the implementation of the imperialist global strategy. The alliances of West German imperialism with Portuguese colonialism in Africa and the racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa are alarming examples of the fact that it is creating permanent situations of conflict with its accomplices in the southern part of Africa—just as in Europe—which threaten the peace and independence of other countries.

The German Democratic Republic Consistently Struggles Against Racism and Colonialism in South Africa

In the GDR the Government and the entire people take the side of the just heroic struggle of the subjugated African peoples and oppose axes or triangles like those of Bonn–Pretoria or Bonn–Salisbury–Pretoria.

In a declaration of 26 September, 1967, to the 22nd Session of the UN General Assembly the Government of the GDR gave the following assurance:

"Proceeding from the anti-imperialist principles of its foreign policy and in agreement with the declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples... the Government of the GDR assures the United Nations that it will support all measures to be introduced for the implementation of the declaration and do everything dependent on it to deepen co-operation with the states and peoples of Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America to overcome colonialism and neo-colonialist exploitation also within the framework of the United Nations."

At a scientific conference held from 22 to 25 May, 1968, in the GDR capital under the motto "Against Racism and Neocolonialism, for the Liberation of Southern Africa", a declaration was adopted by the participants which states, among other things:

"In contrast to the neo-colonial and neo-fascist policy of the

(West German) Federal Republic in Africa all participants in this scientific session, especially the representatives of the national liberation movements, welcome the fact that the GDR gives extensive political and material aid to the national liberation movements in the south of Africa and with its policy of peace and friendship among the peoples also supports the independent countries of Africa in their economic and social development and in their struggle against neo-colonialist entanglement."

This recognition has a real background. Thus, GDR Foreign Minister Otto Winzer informed UN Secretary General U Thant in a letter of 6 December, 1966:

"Permit me to inform you that the Government of the GDR intends to make available 5,000 dollars to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. The Government of the GDR is of the opinion that the formation of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa can be a great help in the struggle of the African people for the abolition of the policy of race discrimination imposed by the Government of the South African Republic."

The fundamentally opposite attitude of the GDR to the Bonn policy of hostility to the peoples is thus demonstrated at all times. A spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry declared on 11 November, 1966, that the GDR Government condemns:

"the direct and indirect support given the illegal Smith regime by Great Britain, South Africa, West Germany, Portugal and other imperialist countries". *Aussenpolitische Korrespondenz*, the official organ of the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, wrote on 25 March, 1968, that it has "been shown that the sanctions against the illegal racist regime cannot be successful so long as the support of the Smith clique by the fascist regime in the South African Republic and by the imperialist western powers, especially by the Governments of the USA and West Germany, is not brought to a halt".

Finally, GDR Foreign Minister Otto Winzer declared in March 1968 in an interview with the Indian news agency Samachar Bharati:

"The Government and people of the GDR most decisively condemn the inhuman arbitrary acts of the racist regime in Rhodesia. These racist excesses in Rhodesia prove the urgent necessity of the fact that all states must adopt effective measures to end racism . . . As far as the GDR is concerned, it will consistently act, as up to now, against all forms of racist domination. That corresponds to its principled attitude."

Conclusion

Peace—Highest Aim of the German Democratic Republic

The Governments of the two German states bear a special responsibility for the maintenance of peace because destructive wars were launched from German soil twice in this century. Developments in the past two decades have shown that the government of the West German Federal Republic was not prepared to draw the lessons from the fateful German past. Rather it continues the policy of German imperialism. The German Democratic Republic, on the other hand, has conducted a policy directed at guaranteeing peace and security since it came into existence.

It is a fact of world-historical importance that the GDR is the first German state which has put an end once and for all to any policy of aggression. The fact is that the GDR is the first German state

which not only makes no territorial claims at all but raises the recognition of existing frontiers and the participation of all European states in a system of collective security on a basis of equality to the status of a principle of its foreign policy.

It developed a constructive program for a lasting peace order in Europe: the recognition of the existing territorial status quo; the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between all European states; the signing of the Nuclear Weapon Non-proliferation Treaty by all European countries, especially by the Federal Republic; the admission of both German states to the United Nations and its organizations; the conclusion of a treaty on the non-use of force in relations between the two German states and the conclusion of a treaty on the normalization of relations between the GDR and the Federal Republic. This program is in full accord with the Bucharest Declaration of the European Socialist countries of 1966, with the proposals submitted by the communist and workers' parties of Europe in Karlovy Vary as well as with the conceptions put forward by many bourgeois politicians. Because the GDR opposes the aggressive policy of the imperialists, especially of the USA and West Germany, with all its might and with the shining example of Socialism and the unbreakable alliance with the Soviet Union, it has today become an invincible force on German soil against Bonn's plans for expansion, from which the main danger to European security emanates.

The fact is and remains that the existence of the GDR and its Socialist peace policy in firm alliance with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries are essential foundations for the fact that despite the aggressive policy of West German imperialism the German people and the peoples of Europe, after the Second World War, have been able to enjoy the longest period of peace in the 20th century.

The Socialist peace policy of the GDR links up with the progressive traditions of the German working-class movement and farsighted bourgeois democratic politicians. Its unbreakable basic principles are firm friendship with the Soviet Union, the constant strengthening of the community of Socialist states, solidarity with the young nation-states and peaceful coexistence with countries with different social systems.

German imperialism, in contrast, has always misused the creative forces of our people and the country's economic potential for the aims of its chauvinist big power policy, for its predatory lust and desire for conquest in the interest of the insatiable greed for profits of big capital. Despite two natural defeats the ruling circles of

West Germany maintain their program of expansion. The West German state which is incorporated in NATO was transformed step by step into a region directed and manipulated by the US monopolies—this state has pursued revanchist aims since its formation. It wants to reverse the results of the Second World War. With the sole representation pretension and the striving for hegemony in Western Europe, with unrestrained armament and the militarization of the whole of social life in the Federal Republic, Bonn continues the disastrous foreign policy of German imperialism, the empire, the Weimar Republic and of fascism.

Peace and security are seriously threatened because militarism and neo-nazism have been restored in West Germany. The West German Federal Republic is the only country in Europe which wants to alter existing frontiers. The struggle for peace and security therefore requires that West German imperialism be prevented from implementing its plans for revenge and expansion.

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